

LIVING HERITAGE: INTANGIBLE HERITAGE  
IN PERFORMING ARTS IN TAIWAN

by

SHANGRONG TSAI

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Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage  
School of History and Cultures  
College of Arts and Law  
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## ABSTRACT

Intangible heritage is a growing concept of emphasis in international communities. This study will define intangible heritage and focus on the performing arts in Taiwan. Inasmuch as Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are two of the most significant manifestations among others, research methods of qualitative interviews and non-participant observations will be used to gain an insight into their practices through investigating certain practitioners. This study will in particular explore organisational management and training approaches that ensure their artistry and skills are transmitted, contributing to the dissemination of intangible heritage. Furthermore, this study will inspect how the competent authorities determine the designation and registration of intangible heritage. Governmental schemes and their implementation for the safeguarding intangible heritage will be thoroughly examined, revealing the integrity and effectiveness of administrative systems, especially as the competent authorities are confronted by certain problems in the interpretation of intangible heritage, interaction with practitioners and controversy. These are inter-related, inter-influencing, and restrictive. In responding to these existing predicaments, coping strategies will be proposed as research outcomes.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BOCH	Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, Republic of China
CABKCG	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Kaohsiung County Government
CCA	Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, Republic of China
CTS	Chinese Television System
CTV	China Television Company
EIF	Edinburgh International Festival
FTV	Formosa TV Entertainment
GIO	Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, Republic of China
GOV.CN	Chinese Government's Official Web Portal
HACH	Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage, Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, Republic of China
ICAHM	International Scientific Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage



ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IPHAN	Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, Brazil
INH	Intangible Natural Heritage
KCG	Kaohsiung City Government
KMT	Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)
MOC, P.R.C.	Ministry of Culture, People's Republic of China
MOC, R.O.C.	Ministry of Culture, Republic of China
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China
NCAF	National Culture and Arts Foundation
NRICPT	National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo
TB	Tourism Bureau, Minister of Transportation and Communications, Republic of China
TCG	Taipei City Government
TCPA	National Taiwan College of Performing Art
TDP	Turismo de Portugal
TELDAP	Taiwan e-Learning and Digital Archives Program
TISR	Taiwan Indicators Survey Research

TTB	Taiwan Tourism Bureau
TTV	Taiwan Television Enterprise
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN	United Nations
WHA	Worlds Health Assembly
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WTO	World Trade Organisation

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Intangible heritage has become one of the discourses of international communities and academia in recent decades. At the international level, UNESCO plays a leading role in recognising and safeguarding intangible heritage as well as promoting international instruments and related activities (Lira & Amoêda, 2009). UNESCO's first attempt towards the safeguarding of intangible heritage was the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore in 1989. However, the definition of the term 'folklore' was limited and overlooked some of the symbols, values, and processes, that might have been included, and some of the traditional cultures of practitioners and communities were also ignored. In this regard, certain member states of UNESCO requested new criteria for the protection of traditional culture and folklore (Blake, 2002). During the late 1990s, safeguarding intangible heritage became one of the priority programmes of UNESCO, causing the organisation to hold various expert meetings, conferences, and regional gatherings to develop a new standard-setting instrument for safeguarding intangible heritage (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 22). In 1993, UNESCO was promoted by the Republic of Korea and

established “systems of Living Human Treasures that exemplify tradition-bearers and encourage them to transmit” (UNESCO, 2012h). UNESCO also launched the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity programme in 1997, which has raised the awareness of the significance of protection and transmission of intangible cultural heritage being immediately threatened (UNESCO, 2006). UNESCO described heritage with tangible values as cultural properties and environments as natural properties in 1999 (Ahmad, 2006).

It is noteworthy that the UNESCO 2003 Convention defined the term ‘intangible heritage’ as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2009f: 4). “It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts” (UNESCO, 2009g: 3).

Moreover, the 2003 convention declared intangible heritage as “a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development”, and stated its *raison d’être* as safeguarding the world’s cultural variety and complexity from the “grave threats of

deterioration, disappearance, and destruction” (UNESCO, 2003: 3). During this decade, much literature has welcomed the idea of including immaterial cultural elements in heritage management and supported the 2003 Convention as an auspicious event to save those elements from disappearing. In particular, intangible heritage is challenged and menaced by globalisation with its ‘flattened’ standard of culture (D’Orville, 2004). In that respect, the 2003 Convention established inventories of intangible cultural heritage in order to protect specific traditions of communities, groups, and individuals. For cultural advocates and heritage inheritors, the 2003 Convention provided resources available for implementations of safeguarding work.

“In 2008 the Committee incorporated 90 elements (formerly proclaimed Masterpieces) into the Representative List. During the period from 2009 to 2012, it has also inscribed 167 new elements on this List” (UNESCO, 2013). For example, the Tango was included on the UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2009. The tango originated from Buenos Aires, Argentina, and was developed by the urban lower classes (UNESCO, 2012g) in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tango has spread worldwide and been promoted to upper class society (Brown, 2000). It experienced its golden age from the 1940s to the 1950s and a dark age from the mid-1950s. Since 1983, the Argentine elite who had shunned the tango were now forced into accepting it with national

pride. In 1983, the Tango Renaissance began in Buenos Aires. From that moment, “people wanted to learn to dance Tango, the ultimate symbol of Argentina to the rest of the world, because suddenly it felt all right to be proud to be Argentine again” (Denniston, 2003). This sense represents a cultural identity with national pride. In addition, the French gastronomy was also included on the UNESCO’s list in 2010, being categorised as a social practice. The nomination of French gastronomy emphasised its significant role in French community, particularly in its function of ‘togetherness’ and the traditional meal with its deep knowledge of the tradition (UNESCO, 2012b).

However, not all intangible heritages can be recognised under UNESCO’s criteria (Kurin, 2004). Problematic discourses have been revealed in a number of academic works (e.g. Arizpe, 2004; Deacon et al., 2004; Ahmad, 2006; Smith, 2006). Recent attempts to safeguard selected cultural traditions as intangible heritage have wider socio-political effects beyond just guaranteeing their sustainability. The selection of intangible heritage to be protected has therefore less to do with the degree of threat they are exposed to than with the policy of what is to be considered and managed as intangible heritage, by whom, for what reasons, and with what measures. If it is assumed that UNESCO’s framework is not always applicable and logical, how can it become effective for each community? This thesis will investigate Taiwan’s intangible heritage to demonstrate its attitude towards the UNESCO 2003

Convention, and to show cultural diversity and Taiwan's identity.

## 1.2 TAIWAN

Geographically, Taiwan is a mountainous island in the western Pacific, located between Japan and the Philippines off the southeast coast of China (GIO, 2011: 14). Although Taiwan has a written history for over four hundred years, it nevertheless has been a site of settlement by colonialists and of sequential immigrations, including aboriginal (Malayo-Polynesian), the Dutch and Spanish powers of Western Europe, Han Chinese (Hoklo and Hakka),<sup>1</sup> Japanese militarists, and Mainlanders<sup>2</sup> over the last fifteen centuries. The aborigines were the original population on Taiwan. Until the seventeenth century, aboriginal groups with affinities to the Chinese mainland comprised most of Taiwan's population. From the early seventeenth century until incorporation into the Japanese Empire in 1895, and then again after 1945 to the present day, there are primarily four ethnic groups on Taiwan: aborigines, Taiwanese (Hoklo), Hakka, and Mainlanders (Li, 1989; Kiyoshi, 2004; Stainton, 2007).

With early Han Chinese settlers from southern Fujian province coming to Taiwan, most Hoklo commonly speak a southern Fujian dialect, which is usually called 'Taiwanese' (Crook,

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<sup>1</sup> Han Chinese immigrants mainly included Hoklo, who originated from the coastal areas of southern Fujian province, and Hakka, who left north-eastern Guangdong province and the hilly interior areas of southern Fujian province. (Avenarius, 2007: 97).

<sup>2</sup> 'Mainlanders' are those people from different provinces of China who arrived in Taiwan with the Kuomintang (KMT) government between 1945 and 1949 as well as their descendants (Li, 1989: 112; Wang, 2007: 892).

2011: 26), whereas the Hakka and Austronesian languages are used in the Hakka and aboriginal communities. Furthermore, Taiwanese people study foreign languages to connect with international society (GIO, 2011: 37). During the fifty-year Japanese colonial period, the Japanese language was the national language (Berry & Farquhar, 2006: 192). As a result, many older people know Japanese, and certain Japanese loanwords are still used as Taiwanese idioms. After the Kuomintang (KMT) arrived in Taiwan in 1945, Mandarin was promoted as the new official language to promote Chinese identity. However, Taiwan Mandarin and mainland Mandarin are somewhat different in pronunciation and word use. Traditional Chinese characters are used Taiwan, but simplified Chinese characters are used in mainland China. Between the 1950s and 1980s, Taiwanese dialects were suppressed (Crook, 2011: 26). Due to the influence of Taiwan's democratisation since the mid-1980s, 'Taiwanese' has been revived and became the main local language, increasing awareness of a Taiwanese identity (Martin, 2009).

Taiwan's economy has grown dramatically in the past decades and achieved an economic miracle, playing a vital role in the global information and communications technology industries (GIO, 2011: 104). Regarding tourism, Taiwan has numerous natural scenic areas such as the East Coast, Sun Moon Lake; national parks such as Yushan National Park and Kenting National Park; recreational farms such as Chingjing Farm and Wuling Farm; forest



recreation areas such as Aowanda, Alishan; and cultural attractions such as the National Palace Museum and the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall (TB, 2012a). Aside from festivals (e.g. the Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn Festival), religious events are common in Taiwan. It must be mentioned that Taiwanese cuisine offers a wide range of choices: Chinese delicacies and other “Asian cuisines, including Thai, Vietnamese, Malaysian, Japanese, Korean and Indian, as well as a good selection of North American and European cuisines” (GIO, 2011: 271). Taiwanese snacks are also a unique specialty, which are inexpensive and tasty. “Typical Taiwanese snacks are found everywhere, but Taiwan’s night markets in particular, each night market having its own traditions and characteristics” (TB, 2012b). Indeed, Taiwan has been endowed with traditional and contemporary creative elements and diverse cultural heritage by the colonial and multi-ethnic influences and has formed its own unique culture corresponding to other civilisations (GIO, 2011: 235).

In about 2006, the Taiwanese government launched a vote to showcase Taiwan’s images of its identity. The results revealed that Hand Puppetry was regarded by the public as the first and foremost representation of Taiwan (Chuang, 2006). Referring to traditional performing arts, it is noteworthy that Taiwanese Opera is the one and only opera native to Taiwan (Yang, 2002: 54); that is to say, Taiwanese Opera is another significant expression of Taiwan’s culture. They were not only recreational activities, in which various walks of life spent their

leisure time in early days (Tseng, 1988), but also have connections with the deep-rooted memories of most Taiwanese people since their childhood (Chen, 2007). In addition, both Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are influenced by other operas and developed and integrated in Taiwan. They use established traditional and new models. Particularly, they use the Taiwanese dialect as the main language for performances, which also emphasise Taiwan's identity. Therefore, these two manifestations ideally can be considered as representatives of Taiwan's intangible heritage in performing arts. They therefore form the focus of this study.

However, Taiwan is not one of the member states of UNESCO and cannot be involved in UNESCO's projects, recognitions, or activities. The 2003 convention encouraged somewhat Taiwan's sense of collective heritage. Being isolated from the international community, its task of safeguarding is more challenging and relies on the Taiwanese government and local competent authorities. When wondering how cultural heritage and the memories of a group of people in a specific region can be passed onto their descendants, and what approaches can be applicable to their constantly changing communities, cultural policy can provide solutions. A thorough cultural policy can not only protect the cultural heritage but create niches for its development in certain dimensions as well (Barré, 2000; McCleery, 2011: 496).

Taipei is the capital of Taiwan (GIO, 2011: 63); Kaohsiung is the second largest city, located in southern Taiwan. The city has developed environmental protection, and high-tech,

low-carbon, green energy, cultural and creative industries, being transformed from a centre for manufacturing, refining, shipbuilding, and traditional light and heavy industries (KCG, 2008). In the past, due to a lack of commercial and cultural activities, Kaohsiung was deemed to be a cultural desert; however, this is not really true. In fact, Kaohsiung is renowned as an incubator for three types of puppet operas, including Marionette Puppetry, Hand Puppetry, and Shadow Puppetry (CABKCG, 2010). Taiwanese Opera is also widespread in Kaohsiung and its adjacent areas because certain practitioners have been moved to the suburbs (HP07, Male, Head of Troupe; HP11, Male, Head of Troupe). This research will therefore look at Kaohsiung to explore the official implementation and practices of local troupes and artists.

### 1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Kurin (2004) argues UNESCO's concept of intangible heritage is spiritual and differs from tangible objects; yet, people will not know the heritage they hold is intangible heritage if the term has not been disseminated and explained. Clarifying the meaning of intangible heritage helps its recognition and conservation work. First of all, this study aims to comprehend intangible heritage through different theoretical perspectives of cultural heritage in international society and individuals' interpretations for a far-reaching understanding. Furthermore, UNESCO (2009g) states that intangible heritage is traditional, contemporary

and living at the same time, inclusive, representative, and community-based. Inasmuch as Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are identified by most Taiwanese as a national image and cultural memory, being considered to be components of Taiwan's intangible heritage, what actually are they? How do they emerge as characteristics of performing arts in Taiwan? In order to uncover this, the study outlines current research to understand these two traditional practices by examining certain practitioners in the Kaohsiung region and their continuity as living heritage. A combination of interviews and non-participant observations were employed to obtain an insight into the methods how those troupes are managed and the problems they confront in a rapidly changing society. In particular, this study explores the approaches taken by practitioners to ensure that their artistry and skills are passed on, thus contributing to a wider debate about the transmission of these two expressions of intangible heritage. Moreover, the results are to help the performers and trainees to utilise resources and sponsors who may be interested in supporting relevant activities.

The acknowledgement of their ownership claims over heritage might open the possibility of the recognition of their distinct identity, as well as their access to and power over other financial and political resources (Smith, 2007: 160-161). As Smith points out, "Heritage is both a resource in, and a process of, negotiation in the cultural politics of identity" (Smith, 2007: 159). Heritage serves to fulfil national interests by the construction of a shared national

identity through the claims of a distinct and totalising national history. Heritage has always been a critical tool for nation-states to promote a collective identity (Graham et al., 2000). Deacon, et al., (2004) indicate that intangible heritage is passed on by communities. Government supports these communities to protect the survival of intangible heritage and advance their social and economic conditions. In particular, economic patronage can promote the transmission and legislation of intangible heritage rather than producing commercialised heritage. In these senses, the bureaucratic administrative policy and states are rather influential on identity and the sustainable development of intangible heritage. Yet, are these ‘must-do’ items approved by people in the communities, too? Do those people have any expectations from the government? Do official authorities deem these to be their duties? What level of effort can they make and what can they accomplish? Thus, this study not only aims to contribute to academic discussions but also examines the status quo and the generated issues in the implementation of safeguarding work, seeking to inform policy-making for the conservation of intangible heritage, both in Taiwan and internationally. The research design accordingly determines the main research questions: What is intangible heritage in tradition and identity in Taiwan and how is it practiced and implemented? These will be evaluated for expected outcomes with the following objectives:

1. To examine the definition(s) of ‘intangible heritage’ in the international community and

in Taiwan.

2. To explore the development of representative intangible heritage in the performing arts with Taiwan's identity.
3. To interpret the transmission(s) of those intangible heritage practices.
4. To investigate the bureaucratic implementation(s) of intangible heritage and cultural policy.

#### 1.4 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

There have been numerous studies specifically on Taiwanese Opera (e.g. Tseng, 1988; Yang, 2002) and Hand Puppetry (e.g. Lu, 1995; Chiang, 2005). The existing researches have reviewed their history throughout and embraced the horizontal dimension of performances and relevant applications. With the introduction of UNESCO's concept of safeguarding intangible heritage, the Green Lines Institute adopted its definition of the 2003 Convention and has launched biennial conferences of 'Sharing Cultures' in Portugal since 2009. The discourses of interest focused on events and issues of intangible heritage worldwide, which provided researchers with more perspectives to understand the international implementation of policies to safeguard intangible heritage in addition to working towards the 2003 Convention. It was my pleasure to attend at the conference 'Sharing Cultures 2011' and

contribute a paper to the field of performing arts, which discussed the transmission of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, from the view of safeguarding intangible heritage. To read with respect other papers in the same sphere, certain researchers presented their performing arts, such as the Spanish ERASMUS dance (Monterio, 2011); music, such as the Sybil chant (Ferrer Forés, 2011); English folk music (Staelens, 2011); puppet theatres, such as Chinese shadow theatre puppets (Liu, 2011) and Belgian puppet theatre (De Pourcq & Kennis, 2011); and traditional operas such as Chinese Kunqu (Yang, 2011) and Japanese Kyōgen (Zehbe, 2011), as representative expressions of their regions and communities. In addition, reviewing the volume from the conference ‘Sharing Cultures 2009’, there were certain discussions on performing arts as intangible heritage practices, presenting ethnic cultural identities such as the siren song (Eldred, 2009); Peruvian mestizo performances of religious theatre (Feliciano, 2009); and Māori traditional dance ‘kapa haka’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Valzer, 2009).

Because intangible heritage is a growing aspect of heritage, the ‘Journal of the Intangible Heritage’ has released annual volumes since 2006, which primarily help to develop an understanding of intangible heritage.

There is little literature discussing intangible heritage in performing arts’ communities (e.g. Moelants et al., 2007; Mataga, 2008; Grant, 2010; Margolies, 2011). Up to now, except

my own paper (Tsai, 2011), there seems to be no other literature pertinent to the subject of both Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry as living heritage. Accordingly, this study will provide a broader and pioneering academic work in Taiwan and the first international-based literature of its kind; and it will examine these two traditional performing arts: their artistry, diversity, and fragility, with an overall comparison, as well as reflecting on the political-economic effects on them in different epochs in the light of theoretical studies on heritage and theatre.

“Each type of heritage has its own audience: some cater to a particular group, others appeal to a range of different types of audience”, and performances always keep on increasing ‘intangible heritable’ (Graham et al. 2002: 22; Halbertsma, 2011: 3). It is argued that not all intangible heritages can be preserved in perpetuity or evaluated equally (Hafstein, 2009: 104); therefore, how to determine the priority of protection is an underlying subject in the initial stage. While establishing a system of safeguarding intangible heritage, the Taiwanese government has been deriving experiences from international communities, such as UNESCO, Japan, and the Republic of Korea (Huang, 2008). This study will debate the criteria of designating intangible heritage and demonstrate the practitioners’ need to inform policy-making in Taiwan. Furthermore, this study will establish a deeper understanding of the contribution of traditional performing arts to Taiwanese culture and society and exposure to



internationally approved practices.

## 1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This thesis starts with the introduction chapter; following that, Chapter 2 will look at a wide range of literatures relevant to the discourses of intangible heritage in heritage studies. In addition, certain publications will be reviewed for an understanding of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, including their history and developments, as ground knowledge. Through examining what has already been written in these fields, the last section will identify the existing research, determine key issues on the topics, and merge some of the data as fundamental knowledge for further findings. Chapter 3 will debate intangible heritage in Taiwan from political perspectives with reference to China, and Taiwan's position outside of the United Nations system. Furthermore, this chapter will introduce the currently registered categories of potential intangible heritage and related cultural policies.

In Chapter 4, qualitative interviews, non-participant observations, and documentary research will be outlined as the research methods of this study. Qualitative interviews helped to comprehend the practitioners of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, in order to explore an individual's definition of intangible heritage and examine the current implementation of its safeguarding. Meanwhile, non-participant observations brought engagement in the regular

career lives of troupes and artists, as well as going deeper into the approaches of skills transmission and appreciation of their performances. Moreover, the process of relevant fieldwork will be illustrated. Prior to the field study, secondary documentary research helped formulate research questions and design interview information. While analysing collected data, secondary sources support concepts of research findings and help examine similarities and dissimilarities with existing theories, and primary sources enable a distinct model to be formed. Accordingly, the research findings will be demonstrated in the next four successive chapters.

Chapter 5 will reveal the different perspectives of intangible heritage among international communities and debates underlying definitions in Western and non-Western systems. Furthermore, this chapter will indicate the relevance of an inventory of intangible heritage in Taiwan to other experienced examples such as UNESCO and Japan. Through approaches of valuing intangible heritage, its natures and expressions will be generalised to a broader view. Chapter 6 will present a condensed history and traditions of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, including their chronology and types. There will be a comparison made of features in common or different, especially practices of characters and costumes, plots, and music. Furthermore, particular faiths, taboos, and limitations in their practices will also be explored. This chapter will also put emphases on the organisational management structures

and dynamic development of troupes in existence, and address the issues of their survival in a changing world. In addition, certain events and episodes of interest among those troupes will be revealed.

As mentioned, the protection and transmission of intangible heritage is significant. Chapter 7 will demonstrate older and modern models of how practitioners have passed on their skills to their successors in a changing environment. Thus, the requirements and approaches of necessary skills and features will be revealed. Moreover, this chapter will debate on critical issues and the innovative solutions of existing troupes and artists.

Chapter 8 will discuss how cultural policy in Taiwan regulates the designation and safeguarding of intangible heritage and examine the official system of identifying practitioners eligible for registration as intangible heritage, and the available state support. On the whole, the criteria applied concern their artistry, uniqueness, and locality, along with their authenticity. The schemes and their implementation by the competent authorities will be thoroughly reviewed. Alongside this, the perspectives of practitioners will provide a demonstration of the safeguard system, revealing their concerns about its integrity and effectiveness. Different perspectives of practitioners and official administrators will help to demonstrate the current implications of safeguarding the work practically. Through understanding the needs of the troupes and artists and the demands of the competent

authorities, between them, their responses will show the homogeneity and disparity in expected achievements, discovering difficulties, and support within the framework. Moreover, the competent authorities are confronted by certain issues of practicality due to the comprehension of intangible heritage, understanding with practitioners, or public sector administrations. Among others, they are inter-related, inter-influenced, and inter-restricted. The existing predicaments and feasible coping strategies will be debated, as well as outcomes.

Chapter 9 will discuss all the themes together that arise from Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 to construct a relationship based on those materials. The further arguments will highlight the key concerns of competent authorities and practitioners and attempt to understand the discrepancies between them. Following that, the chapter will lead to a conclusion in Chapter 10, which gives a summary of each former chapter and presents research results and suggestions for future studies and policy-making. Lastly, the appendices will include interview transcripts, which have been translated from the original language to English; copies of relevant laws and regulations; and samples of survey forms.

## 1.6 CONCLUSION

Intangible heritage is a growing global discourse, and UNESCO has played a leading role to define, and document, and highlight living traditions and expressions, while keeping their

creativity and survival from threats in a changing world. This study has adopted in part UNESCO's concept of intangible heritage, as well as an understanding of Taiwanese perspectives, which will provide a different model from UNESCO's system, to enrich the content of physical work in safeguarding intangible heritage. As a result, this study will not only promote Taiwan's culture internationally but also show more Taiwanese people their own heritage values. Furthermore, taking Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry as examples may provoke devotees, researchers, and authorities to explore and identify other manifestations of performing arts and discourses of intangible heritage for further study, including cultural heritage management and policy; gender and cultural diversity matters; and economic issues with reference to innovation and creative industries, as well as the effects of globalisation and tourist development on intangible heritage.

## CHAPTER 2

### PERFORMING ARTS AS INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will review the literature relevant to intangible heritage and performing arts in Taiwan as background and a conceptual framework for the investigation and analysis of the study. Section 2.2 will examine the international debates within the broad framework of heritage studies, and there will be a range of discussions on the meaning, history, the components of intangible heritage, as well as the practices of intangible heritage in various communities. In Section 2.3, there will be an overview of a number of publications providing brief histories of representative theatres in Taiwan (e.g. Taiwanese Opera, Hand Puppetry). Moreover, this section will outline elements of performances for a better understanding of such performing arts. Lastly, there will be an evaluation of reviewed publications, establishing a bridge between intangible heritage and the performing arts, and identifying research issues.

#### 2.2 DISCOURSES OF HERITAGE STUDIES

Carman (2002) categorises heritage into three main types: (1) portable objects - parts of collections of museum or individuals; (2) buildings, sites or monuments - preserved in a

stable status; (3) landscapes - deemed to be natural or cultural, which exist in solid and tangible forms at a global or regional level. Heritage is difficult to define but could be simplified, and as Carman points out, there are heritage themes which encompass value, semiotics of the material world, aesthetic and emotional responses, commodification, and the role of the professional in society. Carman also sheds light on the functions heritage organisations (e.g. United Nations, UNESCO, ICOM, ICOMOS, ICAHM), operating heritage management under relevant laws and regulations, as well as the system of expertise. Noteworthy is the significant inventory work at all hierarchies of the heritage organisations. This helps comprehend the key issues being emphasised in heritage studies in the physical world are, linking commercial and moral experiences, and the question of who is in charge of heritage management and promotion internationally.

Howard (2003) offers us a definition of heritage, fields of heritage with academic disciplines and practical interpretations. In addition, we can learn how people value and identify heritage while it becomes a product. Howard states that heritage is the “circumstances or benefits passed down from previous generations”, “that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations” (p. 6). Heritage is deemed to be the objects which people want in the event of their first interests. Therefore, “people collect heritage for their own benefit or for the perceived benefit of others, although the nature of those benefits

are very various” (p. 7). Briefly, heritage is identified as either public heritage or private heritage. The former is managed by professional wardens; the latter is more involved in people’s lives. In heritage studies, there is a discipline established to link to other fields (e.g. history, culture, tourism, art, geography). In addition to rising academic concepts, some practical frameworks have been developed to protect and present natural or historical heritage, including governmental management and voluntary efforts. The ownership of heritage and its market process has been made by different groups (e.g. owners, outsiders, insiders, governments, academics, the media). They invest in heritage for different requirements and purposes, including to gain legitimacy; for cultural capital; identity; and, sometimes, for financial reward or just to make a living (p. 102). Accordingly, different people put different values on heritage, revealing its complexity. During the process of the heritage chain, identity and interpretation are means towards good management, helping with understanding and minimising the disputes between groups.

Smith (2006: 3) argues that “the traditional Western account of ‘heritage’ tends to emphasize the material basis of heritage, and attributes an inherent cultural value or significance to these things”. Taking France in Western Europe as an instance, the term ‘patrimoine’ in France could be translated ‘property’ and ‘heritage’ in English. The latter was widely used internationally and emphasises its inheritance process rather than its procession.



Since the period from 1930 to 1945, the meaning of heritage has come to refer to not only the inheritance of goods but also a dynamic transmission. The French term ‘patrimoine’ was first used in 1970 as an attempt to transform the personal heritage of emigrants, which indicates goods inherited from their parents, from domestic to nationwide. After 1789, the ownership of ‘patrimoine’ was considered to belong to public. Until the late 1970s, its meaning was not limited to national property, artistic property, or traditional things related to the fine arts; it became more universal (Vecco, 2010). The evolution of heritage is therefore from a private heritage to a universal, public heritage, being in the scope classified by Howard (2003) (see also Smith, 2006).

Furthermore, Smith (2006) challenges the dominant Western discourse and what he terms the ‘authorized heritage discourse’. In addition to the contributions of Carman (2002), Smith maps out certain themes of heritage such as intangibility, identity, memory and remembering, performance, place, and dissonance to present combinations of the uses of heritage in different practices. In particular, Smith argues that “heritage is something vital and alive”, and “it is a moment of action, not something frozen in material form” (p. 83). The concepts are against the institutional understandings of heritage that focus on sites, buildings, objects, and legacies. Heritage creates the context of cultural and social values in the dynamic processes in both the past and present. In addition, heritage is a political process and

legitimises and identifies heritage practices and policies with accommodations and negotiations in different ways and for different groups. The practices are composed of performances of heritage in people's daily lives at specific places. This sense reveals the relationships between meanings of activities, moments, and spaces presenting intangible expressions of heritage; hence, heritage is intangible.

Fairclough, et al. (2008) bring together academic works to represent the key issues of heritage such as concepts, ownership, approaches to management, and interpretation within a community. This volume accounts for the history and development, definition, and value, of heritage. Since heritage is the tension of memory, which can be remembering or forgetting, good policy is needed to approach heritage, particularly in the context of changing attitudes and environments. Similar to Howard (2003), Harrison, et al. (2008) indicate that identity and promotion of understanding are vital in heritage management. 'Ownership' is controversial and presents itself distinctly in different cultures. Accordingly, Harrison (2008) argues that certain experts are inclined to represent or create 'the past' of heritage for aboriginal communities in local society; however, this brings about a question here: Whose heritage? There is obviously a key point that 'interpretation' from multiple aspects is a fundamental process of heritage management (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 2008). It not simply comprehends the definition and significance of heritage, but also provides historical, educational, and

demonstrative functions (McCarthy, 2008).

## 2.3 HERITAGE CONCEPT OF AUTHENTICITY AND INTEGRITY

### *2.3.1 Authenticity*

In general terms, the definition of authenticity is genuineness, the quality of being genuine or not corrupted from the original. However, authenticity has different meanings at different times and places. In the Middle Ages, authenticity denoted the truthfulness of religious scriptures and relics (Hotltoft & Scadla-Hall, 1999). “The dominant culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was sophisticated, artificial, false, and presumptuous” (Heynen, 2006: 287), while the modern meaning of authenticity was taken up by the Romantics in the later 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, who were against the falsity and pretence. In 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, authenticity is longing for the ‘real’, which means natural, honest, simple, and unspun (Hotltoft & Scadla-Hall, 1999: 231; Boyle, 2004; Heynen, 2006: 288).

Since the 1960s, authenticity has been discussed at international conventions. The Venice Charter establishes the conception of the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites. Living witnesses of traditions from the past, historic monuments of the present day are regarded as human values and common heritage. The responsibility to safeguard heritages is to pass them on with their authenticity. According to the contents concerning authenticity,

particularly in restoration, the Venice Charter states that the conservation of historic sites does not need to recover the most primitive forms and features. When restoring celebrated monuments, their stewards should accept changes and diverse styles of historic sites over different periods (ICOMOS, 1964).

In addition to the Venice Charter, the prime definition of authenticity was given in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Before the 2005 revision, “the ‘test of authenticity’ was referred to four parameters: design, material, workmanship and setting”, which was virtually tangible heritage. In the revised version, ‘conditional authenticity’ was deemed to include “traditions, techniques, language and other forms of intangible heritage, as well as spirit and feeling or other issues” (Jokilehto, 2006: 8).

The Nara Document on Authenticity continued the spirit of the Charter of Venice and has been therefore vitally significant international to the literature on authenticity, reflecting the importance of authenticity in conserving cultural heritage, affirming that authenticity is an element in defining and dominating cultural heritage. Authenticity judgments may be from different aspects, based on the identification, evaluation and interpretation of true values, including “form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors”. Authenticity cannot be defined simply with physical or fixed criteria. Different cultures have

a diverse significance and meaning of their own cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 1994).

Lowenthal (1998) argues that “no work of art ever remains as it was created” because of the natural decay and changes of original objects or materials. The truth of the past is subjectively interpreted by present day people to set out ‘history’; thus, authenticity is a relative value rather than an absolute one (McBride, 1997: 93; Ucko, 2000: 72; Orphal, 2000). In addition, in reviewing Smith & Akagawa (2009), Skounti (2009) asserts that authenticity is an illusion whereas intangible heritage might abandon some elements of tradition in the past in order to survive.

### *2.3.2 Integrity*

Integrity is another fundamental concept for candidates of cultural heritage. Edroma (2000: 50) suggests that “the notion of integrity embraces cultural, religious or customary systems and taboos that sustain the complete structure, diversity and distinctive character of natural properties and cultural landscapes, as perceived at the time of their recognition”. Munjeri (2000: 18) identifies “the concept of integrity emphasises ‘wholeness’, ‘virtuosity’, unfettered by perceived organic and inorganic human and non-human intrusions”. The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention states that:

Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to

express its outstanding universal value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

(UNESCO, 2005)

In addition, Stovel (2007: 24-25) indicates that there are two basic ideas in the 2005 Operational Guidelines related to the concept of integrity: wholeness and intactness. 'Wholeness' relates to the ability of a defined property to convey significance and can be understood as being linked to concerns present in the authenticity discussion, and the ability of certain attributes to credibly express or convey significance. 'Intactness' is very different. Here the focus is on the state of the "physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features" which "should be in good condition", while "the impact of deterioration processes should be controlled". Jokilehto (2006: 12) shows that "the functional integrity of the place can enhance a better understanding and clearer definition of the outstanding universal value of a place".

## 2.4 INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN HERITAGE STUDIES

Intangible heritage is a developing concept in heritage studies. This section will examine relevant issues at international and regional levels. Above all, there will be an overview of heritage studies and management as background knowledge. Following that, the second

subsection will briefly review how UNESCO as a leading global authority in field of heritage and its member states define and implements intangible heritage. Further developing concepts about intangible heritage or the UNESCO 2003 Convention will be outlined in the third subsection. Lastly, based on sharing cultures worldwide, there will be some examples to demonstrate the manifestation and implementation of intangible heritage in their communities.

#### *2.4.1 UNESCO 2003 Convention and intangible heritage*

The term ‘intangible heritage’ in UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural was defined as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2009f: 4). In addition, UNESCO proposes that intangible heritage has a number of domains: (1) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (2) Performing arts; (3) Social practices, rituals and festive events; (4) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and (5) Traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO, 2009c: 3).

However, many elements of intangible heritage are not limited to just one of these domains. Furthermore, UNESCO creates inventories of intangible heritage which can raise

awareness about intangible heritage and are instrumental in safeguarding work. Since intangible heritage is vital and evolves constantly and rapidly, therefore, inventories should be regularly updated (UNESCO, 2009d). In addition, UNESCO (2009e) indicates the differences between safeguarding and protection or conservation. They are not really the same because protection or conservation can ensure the existence of a cultural heritage, but it may become fixed or frozen. Yet, safeguarding must keep its continued viability and transmission. Inasmuch as intangible heritage is developed with recreation and owned by communities continually and collectively, it is difficult to determine who is the owner. Intellectual property rights are not suitable to deal with intangible heritage, which may obstruct its natural development.

Moreover, UNESCO (2009b) reveals their statutory organs, operational directives, and inscription criteria for their urgent safeguarding and representative lists, which helps to realise that intangible heritage is recognised by communities themselves and is only nominated by the authorities as State Parties. Among them, some intangible heritage facing urgent threats can be a funding priority. In fact, UNESCO has launched actions and programmes working towards the 2003 Convention for nearly 60 years, which can be divided into three phrases: 1946 - 1981: first steps; 1982 - 2000: from Mondiacult to Our Creative Diversity; 2000 onwards and the drafting of the Convention (UNESCO, 2009h).



Thereafter, UNESCO has been disseminating this new concept and has published a series of brochures as kits (UNESCO, 2012e). In addition to establishing what intangible heritage is, UNESCO (2009g) attempts to distinguish intangible heritage from the delimitation of cultural heritage, which was a synonym of physical monuments and collections in the past. Intangible heritage “also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants” (p. 3). UNESCO highlights the issues of fragility and the diversity of cultural heritage under globalisation and assists different communities with intercultural understanding and mutual respect, and attaches importance to the social and economic value of the transmission of intangible heritage, particularly among minorities.

#### *2.4.2 Terms defined by UNESCO member states*

In 2001, UNESCO invited various member states to define intangible cultural heritage. The following is the compendium sorted by different continents (UNESCO, 2001b).

##### **1. Africa**

Ethiopia states intangible cultural heritage as something that “cannot be felt by hands” (p. 1) but can be visible or audible performances and folklore, which is considered as traditional artistic heritage, religious beliefs, ceremonies, literature, traditions and customs, nationalities. Madagascar’s definition of intangible cultural heritage is the

miraculous and includes beliefs, the conception of space and time, life rites, traditional performing arts and crafts, traditional oral and written language literature, and traditional activities. The Republic of Guinea categorises intangible cultural heritage as non-physical heritage. Intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe is traditional culture and folklore used in a community, such as language, literature, performances, games, myths, rituals, customs, technical arts, reflecting their own identity, which is passed on orally or by other methods (UNESCO, 2001b).

## 2. Middle East

The definition of intangible cultural heritage in Israel “traverses national borders and extends over time from antiquity to the present” (p. 4), including the visual culture of the Jewish people that consists of religious and secular buildings, funerary art, ritual and domestic objects, illuminated manuscripts, painting and sculpture. “It also includes the archival information and any sources of documentation on eradicated Jewish monuments” (p. 4). Kuwait regards intangible cultural heritage as oral heritage, folklore, and religious culture, which comprises proverbs, customs, traditions, activities, distinguishing natures from other societies; it also includes arts, crafts, characters, living practices (e.g. settlements and travelling, marriage and delivery, death), diets, medical treatments, typical local legends. The Palestinian Authority simply defines intangible

cultural heritage as popular heritage (UNESCO, 2001b), which means Palestinian folklore (Khalil, 1974: 4; De Cesari, 2008: 99).

### 3. Asia and Pacific

In Indonesia, intangible cultural heritage can be something well-renowned and obtained from a predecessor, being neither touchable nor 'holdable'. Lao People's Democratic Republic states that intangible cultural heritage is a people's spiritual values and social practices of humanisation and civilisation with long-term historical development (e.g. intelligence, knowledge, arts, literature, morals). Myanmar divides culture into tangible culture and intangible culture. The former is in the perspective of the material, such as visual arts, and the latter is in the spiritual view, like performing arts. The Republic of Korea sees intangible cultural heritage as performing arts and crafts with outstanding historical, artistic and academic value (UNESCO, 2001b).

### 4. Europe and North America

In Andorra, tangible and intangible productions, objects, architectures, techniques, ideas, customs and values define the identity of Andorran culture. Austria states that intangible cultural heritage is folk culture which spreads in specific territories, transcending tradition and being based on life and conditions of time. Under Croatia's definition, culture is "a complete way of life and thinking of a human community" (p. 3). Intangible

cultural heritage may cover distinguishing forms and phenomena of profound creativity being passed on by tradition or any other method. Cyprus treats intangible heritage as non-material culture (UNESCO, 2001b) - the way of life in society, the way of thinking, respect towards the peoples' own cultural beliefs and traditions, social norms, social mores, values, and behaviours (AC, 2011). The Czech Republic's concept of intangible cultural heritage is a concept consisting of productions created formerly and present-time creation and explication. Finland states that it should emphasise the distinction between 'Folklore in its Oral and Traditional Form' and 'Applied Folklore'. In the Republic of Macedonia, there is no legislation defining folklore. According to the given standards, folklore heritage as material is expanded in the protection and development of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage and non-material traditional literature. Similar to Zimbabwe, Lithuania states that intangible heritage expresses distinctive traditional cultural phenomena, transmitted orally, by mimicry or other ways within a community. Romania defines intangible cultural inheritance is represented by folklore. Folklore is composed of culture, which is a successive process and interaction of tradition and innovation; it embodies the syncretic contents of literature and music. The definition of intangible cultural heritage in Spain concerning traditional culture and folklore does not

exist in legislation. Cultural heritage is considered in a prospect of material expressions rather than highlighting intangible traditional culture (UNESCO, 2001b).

## 5. Latin America and the Caribbean

Argentina has no unified definition of intangible cultural heritage; however, certain Argentinian people consider to be traditional and popular beliefs, the oral tradition and household ceremonies; or cultural expressions including customs, craft technologies, popular religiosity, alternative preparations, and performing arts in various communities.

Brazilian groups define cultural heritage as material or non-material natural products with action and memory of difference to be identified by them. In Peru, cultural heritage means artistic expressions and creations, comprising music, dance, rites, customs, traditions and relevant activities, being transmitted promoted, conserved, and preserved.

In addition to the term of ‘non-material’, ‘living heritage’ or ‘cultural living heritage’ is used to express ‘intangible heritage’ in Venezuela. It comprises of oral and verbal creations, religious beliefs and practices, economic, political, scientific, technological and philosophical aptitudes which can be compassed from the past to the present (UNESCO, 2001b).

The definitions of intangible heritage from those UNESCO member states have been contributed in different perceptions. In general, Western countries emphasised intangible

heritage in constructive architecture, rural techniques, folklore, preceding creation; in non-Western countries, craftsmanship, religious culture, spiritual beliefs are the significance of living (see also Vecco, 2010). Yet, in certain multicultural societies, indigenous ethnic heritage takes precedence over others (see also Deacon, 2004).

#### *2.4.3 Developing concepts of intangible heritage*

Munjeri (2004) examines the difference between tangible heritage and intangible heritage and debates the issues of intrinsic values, policies, and qualities of authenticity of cultural heritage. The values of heritage (e.g. objects, collections, buildings) are given and recognised by people in society. They can understand the values of tangible heritage through intangible expression, which can establish a link between society and values. In addition, societies, norms, and values can form an equal partnership, and intangible heritage works in a triangular relationship between natural heritage, cultural heritage, and spiritual heritage. Hence, this reveals that tangible heritage and intangible heritage are symbiotic, not in opposing positions.

Deacon, et al. (2004) adopt the definition of the UNESCO 2003 Convention and examine cultural policies and financial implements for the safeguarding of intangible heritage in certain countries and regions (e.g. Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada) as well as elements of international instruments for the purpose. The UNESCO 2003 Convention brings a new definition different from the past misconception of heritage, which was restricted to

buildings, places, and objects. In addition, Kurin (2004) states that the UNESCO 2003 Convention, currently in international law, was approved by some countries, excluding Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States, who abstained from voting (see also Smith & Akagawa, 2009: 3), inasmuch as the UNESCO 2003 Convention is a challenge to previous thinking of certain Western countries. Intangible heritage is spiritual and differs from tangible objects; yet, people will not know the heritage they hold is intangible heritage if the term has not been disseminated and explained.

UNESCO has launched a series of programmes since the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972. Kurin argues that most of the framers of the 2003 Convention assumed that “intangible cultural heritage is traditional culture and ruled out all sorts of things” (p. 69) and suggests the definition should include a broader range of cultural activities, such as contemporary entertainment, unique recipes, and sports.

Smith and Akagawa (2009) examine various debates and concepts from various countries reflecting on the development and influence of the UNESCO 2003 Convention, exploring uses of intangible heritage and negotiations with practical policies in diversity. The Western ‘authorized heritage discourse’ bears the brunt of the challenge to the definition of material heritage (see also Smith, 2006). Among the debates, Aikawa-Faure (2009) indicates that prior to the UNESCO 2003 Convention, the Recommendation Safeguarding of Traditional Culture

and Folklore 1989, the promotion of Living Human Treasure system 1993, and the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, created in 1997 and adopted by the Executive Board in 1998 (UNESCO, 2001c), have been related activities in preparing for the implementation of the 2003 Convention. In particular, the 1997 Proclamation categorised intangible heritage as ‘forms of popular or traditional expression’ and ‘cultural spaces’, which is defined as “places in which popular and traditional activities are concentrated” (UNESCO, 2006: 4).

Referring to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, Arizpe (2004) affirms that it introduced a new understanding between intangible cultural heritage and cultural diversity. The meaning of intangible heritage is given by people’s creative achievements, and most intangible heritage is brought about by historical and social practices and has intercultural influences as well as distinctions between different countries and communities. This is a sense of identity which reflects cultural diversity and cultural relatedness in the globalised world. In addition, the safeguarding of intangible heritage and cultural diversity are to harmonise other cultures and seek their intimate cultural roots. Arizpe’s views are more or less the same as Howard (2003), that understanding and minimising the disputes of different cultural groups are respectful to managing heritage. ‘Cultural roots’ raises another debate on the ‘authenticity’ of heritage, however, especially



when it is immaterial and intangible.

Remarkably, Byrne (2009) argues that the UNESCO 2003 Convention is not applicable to every cultural practice. UNESCO tried to appeal for documents of intangible heritage; however, this may challenge indigenous groups' ownership and intellectual property rights (see also Fairclough et al., 2008), though they are deemed to be difficult to determine or even not significant concerns when safeguarding intangible heritage (see also UNESCO, 2009e). Those groups' emotions, memories, or beliefs are likely to be neglected to some extent. In addition, Byrne believes that UNESCO's inventory is a process materialisation of intangible heritage, and he would rather regard social practices, traditions, and skills as 'intangible' than 'intangible heritage'. If people would like to be involved, they should engage and build genuine and equitable relationships with local communities. The following will exemplify how people manifest their 'intangible heritage' in their communities.

In virtue of the adoption of UNESCO 2003 Convention, Lira, et al. (2009) gather a wider range of discussions on intangible heritage from scholars and experts with different views to raise related issues including: (1) the collection and preservation of intangible; (2) practices in arts; (3) global identity and local diversity; (4) sustainability, creativity, and continuity; (5) policies and management (6) cultural tourism; (7) museological preservation; (6) education; (7) living communities; (8) intangibility of tangible heritage. These debates show that

intangible heritage is comprehensive and make people consider the kind of criteria of recognition of intangible heritage is proper from different aspects. Performances and tourism are linked to the market mechanism as well. With this regard, from discussions in Lira, et al. (2009), it is shown that heritage tourism is not only a commercial exchange (Busby, 2009) but also the national or regional identity of communities (Park, 2009) and political expression in some cases (Li & Hu, 2009). In addition, education plays a role to propagate and transmit concepts and skills, sometimes with new media (Matos, 2009), and helps to understand their significance; it may also ensure the sustainable development of intangible heritage (Yuruk, 2009).

Meanwhile, Lira & Amoêda (2009) highlights the significant themes of intangible heritage, including the immateriality of heritage, conceptual and museological intangible heritage, as well as presenting certain practical cases as models. In sum, this volume constructs a tangible framework of persistent intangible heritage to demonstrate they are in coexistence and mutually involved. Pearce (2009) emphasises that human culture was based on physical objects, whereas it now also expresses non-immaterial content, such as the performing arts, crafts, and ritual practices. Following Lira, et al. (2009), in terms of UNESCO's inventory of intangible heritage, Lira, et al. (2011) collect inclusive examples as case studies in each area of intangible heritage.

UNESCO (2001a) argues that a woman's sphere is easy to be devalued because of 'traditional' perspectives. They are often dominated by men, who become privileged reproducers of intangible heritage of their communities; however, they actually make contributions to the transmission of intangible heritage. Therefore, UNESCO leads us to rethink intangible heritage and promote women's priorities and perspectives. Of note is Sutherland-Addy (2001), which reveals that there are academic studies in the areas of women and development in Africa. She uses a multi-disciplinary approach to understand a woman's knowledge and life situations and suggests that it requires further investigation in Africa, as well as encouraging the role of women as creators, custodians, protectors and transmitters of intangible heritage. In addition, Moghadam & Bagheritari (2005) indicate that, when implementing the UNESCO 2003 Convention, importance needs to be attached to the human rights of women. They raise a central question for UNESCO with respect to preserving intangible culture and promoting cultural diversity on the one hand, and promoting gender equality and women's participation on the other.

#### *2.4.4 Practices of intangible heritage in communities*

Brazil was the first country in Latin America to legislate to protect its historic and artistic heritage in 1937. Londre (2004) shares the Brazilian experience of the registry of intangible heritage by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN), including the

establishment of a legal mechanism which contributes its knowledge and values of intangible heritage to society, and the relationships and influential factors between culture, industry, tourism, and the growing pace of urbanisation. Four volumes of the registry were created: knowledge, celebrations, forms of expression, and places. Londre also reveals that the registry of living culture increased official incentives, but existing issues of finance and administration make it difficult. In this regard, this study will see if Taiwan has encountered the same difficulties.

Demotte (2004) focuses on the French community, one of three main communities in Belgium - the other two being the Flemish community and the German-speaking community. There are various local values in the folklore of the community as cultural heritage, while the Minister of Culture protects and expands it to the recognition of movable cultural property, to the intangible. For conservation, they can be granted subsidies and relevant recording equipment for the passing on of skills. In addition, UNESCO's recognition can disseminate the awareness of intangible heritage for cultural identity, creativity, and diversity. Belgium thus provides a multicultural policy and financial support for intangible heritage, mainly focusing on folklore in the French community. Folklore can be transmitted by immigration and is deemed to be movable, revealing the nature of intangible heritage.

McCleery, et al. (2009) indicate the effects of burgeoning cultures and globalisation on

intangible heritage, while providing some cases of festivals (e.g. Edinburgh and Glasgow Melas, Celtic Connections, The Edinburgh Tattoo) in Scotland to present multicultural performances, and cultural diversity. These case studies affirm the relationship between intangible heritage and tourism, in the sense of commercialised cultural heritage which brings economic benefits to support intangible heritage further. At a national level, Scotland's inventory of intangible heritage includes languages and multicultural practices and knowledge.

Hung (2008) illustrates UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003, Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties 1950, and Protection of Cultural Properties Act 2005 (Revision) of the Republic of Korea. Since Japan and the Republic of Korea are the forerunners of enacting laws for safeguarding intangible heritage, their protection systems and experiences may be relevant to Taiwan. In addition to relevant regulations, Hung reveals the administrative procedures of the designation of intangible heritage and its protection work. Then, Hung takes certain registered items as models and states how government and civil originations support them with subsidies and resources. In particular, they have established mechanisms for the passing on of skills to successors. For instance, there are two operational systems: the civil originations or specific schools that take over the management and transmission of intangible properties, which are

subsidised by their seniorities or positions (e.g. holders, assistants); and the holders of traditions or skills. Both are subsidised by governments. Even officers of cultural affairs and chairpersons of civil organisations can be nominated as honorary living heritage and obtain funds.

Ruggles & Silverman (2009) examine the relationship between intangible heritage with performance, landscape and space, memory, and new technologies and media. Intangible heritage shifts dramatically and needs to be treated constantly, thus they look at the development of intangible heritage as a concept from material culture to intangible aspects of living experience. Thereafter, they discuss problems with intangible heritage in the field of theatre. Accordingly, Wong (2009) shows that Kunqu, a form of Chinese opera, has been ignored by the younger generations, although kunqu is not extinct yet. In 1999, China proposed to UNESCO to designate Kunqu as a 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity', thereafter, Kunqu Opera was listed as intangible heritage by UNESCO in 2008 (UNESCO, 2012c). Wong reveals the actor training conditions of national and local governments and discusses how the public and policies help support and retrieve traditional theatres. However, new entertainment, such as pop music, being the mainstream in modern society, has attacked such voice art. Traditional performing arts are under threat and lacks appeal to the younger generation, which highlights the significance of the transmission

of intangible heritage.

## 2.5 PERFORMING ARTS IN TAIWAN

In the English-language literature, there is little academic work examining Taiwanese performing arts. Brandon (1993) has briefly introduced a wide range of representative Asian operas and drama, in which Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are mentioned as two of Taiwan's genres. Lin (2001b) categorises traditional operas in Taiwanese as full-scale operas, small-scale song and dance operas, and puppet operas. Taiwanese Opera is a full-scale opera, while Hand Puppetry is one of three representative puppet operas, along with Marionette Puppetry and Shadow Puppetry. In general, most of the various traditional operas in Taiwan have similar natures and conditions. In addition, he discusses the purpose of performing (e.g. celebrating a god's birthday; worshiping ghosts; redeeming vows; offering apologies; or giving odds and admitting defeats), manners and pay for inviting the performances, and the relationship between traditional operas and religions with social functions. Being a theatre historian, Lin (2003) examines the relevant events of theatres in Taiwan from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century to 2002, and provides a vertical view of the history of theatres in different eras. Taiwanese Opera and Hand puppetry are like pieces on a chessboard - both of them have their own trajectory as well as links to other operas in Taiwan. It is noteworthy that the

government's cultural policy and valuation determined the position of theatres. They have experienced ebbs and flows; yet, some have declined whereas others, including Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, have undergone metamorphosis, as well as seeking new solutions to survive.

#### *2.5.1 An historical outline of Taiwanese Opera*

Tseng (1988) illustrates how the original form of Taiwanese Opera was influenced by folk songs with immigrants from China and gradually became a full-scale opera. During this period of development, Taiwanese Opera was suppressed under the Japanese rule. After Japanese rule (1945), Taiwanese Opera troupes began to perform in theatres and entered a golden age. Then, Taiwanese Opera had developed into various types: Radio Taiwanese Opera, Taiwanese Opera films, and TV Taiwanese Opera. Tseng has examined their transition and further development. Based on the structure from Tseng (1988), Yang (2002) extends the discussion of development into more detail and indicates the evolution of outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera to indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera. In particular, 'Refined Taiwanese Opera' has been a trend since the 1980s. The term 'refined Taiwanese Opera' was not yet defined in Tseng's book of 1988: it was first introduced in 1993. Moreover, Yang highlights the protection and conservation of Taiwanese Opera, and she reveals the practice of training and transmission, government implementation, and civil organisations' endeavours. There has



been a specific school, school clubs and training courses in support of relevant work.

Although Taiwanese Opera originated in Taiwan over a hundred years ago, Chen and Tseng (1995) provides historical views about its fountainhead in the southern part of Fujian Province of China and how Taiwanese Opera went back to influence plays in that area and form a local Gezaixi (Taiwanese Opera) called 'Xiang Opera'. Because of the political division between Taiwan and China, cross-strait cultural policies are difficult, bringing about a diverse development and styles of performance. This sense also expresses cultural and national identification. However, cross-strait exchanges promote cooperation for the future of Gezaixi (Taiwanese Opera). Aside from the history of Taiwanese Opera, Liu (1999) highlights the practice of performing Taiwanese Opera at different venues and particular ways (e.g. Radio Taiwanese Opera, Taiwanese Opera films, and TV Taiwanese Opera). Through examining the rise and decline of Taiwanese Opera, practitioners are not assured of stable career patterns. Since the 1980s, the government and academia have begun to pay close attention to Taiwanese Opera, which brought it vitality at that time.

Lin (2000) examines the changes to Taiwanese Opera from the initial stages until the period of TV Taiwanese Opera. These have been used in performances, which reveal the quality of improvisation by performers and the creativity of plots. Lin has the same view as Liu (1999) about the difference of themes between matinees and evening performances,

reflecting leisure in society. The ‘folk-stage Taiwanese Opera’ used to be related to religious fairs, but now it can be seen at commercial promotions as well. Yet, with modern development, performances of Taiwanese Opera have been becoming more elaborate. TV Taiwanese Opera and ‘refined Taiwanese Opera’ are the full expression. In addition, certain troupes are not only devoted to advanced performances but also to organisational management with administrative resources.

Kuo (2003) indicates that Taiwanese Opera was influenced by Beijing Opera performers who migrated from China. This official publication mainly examines the achievements of recent decades and Taiwanese Opera troupes in Kaohsiung. However, certain practitioners have discontinued their performances. Excluding relevant school clubs, some supporting civil organisations and associations have disappeared. There has been discussion about the career and practice of Taiwanese Opera performers, which helps understand a practitioner’s hardship and difficulties as well as the cultivation of skills. Wang (2004) reviews the studies through the perspectives of history, culture, society, theatre, music, education, appreciation and art management. Referring to the membership of Taiwanese Opera troupes, they can be formed out of interest, for family reasons, or commercial purposes. She compares the structure of troupes in contemporary theatres and Taiwanese Opera and determines each role’s duty and position.

In addition to the development of Taiwanese Opera, Lin (2006) looks at the elements of performance, such as plots, music, stage arts by different types of performances: Luodisao, Old Gua-Ah, Outdoor-Stage Taiwanese Opera, Indoor-Stage Taiwanese Opera, Radio Taiwanese Opera, Taiwanese Opera Films, TV Taiwanese Opera, and Refined Taiwanese Opera. Specific plots, costumes, and actions of roles represent the distinguishing features of plays. It is noteworthy that Lin reveals how troupes are invited by clients and how performers and staff share income before and after the performances. Developing the skills of arias and lines, newly-written music, and stage and lighting effects are required for market demands in different situations. Meanwhile, Taiwanese Opera is facing certain external and internal difficulties, for example, the development of new media, multi-optional entertainment, reduced venues, the rise of environmental consciousness, and a decrease in the opportunities of performance. A lack of successors and proper scenarios, performances of lower quality, and an aging and disappearing audience negatively influence the transmission and development of such a kind of operas.

#### *2.5.2 An historical outline of Hand Puppetry*

Liu (1990) states the development of Hand Puppetry includes different types: Nanguan Play, Beiguan Hand Puppetry, Swordsmen Play, Japanised Hand Puppetry, Outdoor-Stage Hand Puppetry, Indoor-Stage Hand Puppetry, Golden Light Hand Puppetry, Radio Hand Puppetry,

And Hand Puppetry Films. Concerning the decline of Hand Puppetry, Liu suggests that the government integrate traditional operas in Taiwan and establish root education in the appreciation of the performing arts, as well appealing for support from civic organisations. Chiang (1995) broadens the range of discussions of its types by embracing Longdi play and TV Hand Puppetry, and divides the development of Hand Puppetry into eight periods (see also Chiang, 1990). Moreover, Chiang identifies the branches and schools of Hand Puppetry, which demonstrates the significance of the institutional apprenticeship system in the early days. Lu (1995) suggests that the history of Hand Puppetry in Taiwan can be divided into three stages: the initial stage, the developed stage, and the transition stage. He also tells the life stories of artists and their unique skills as parts of a recorded history of Hand Puppetry. Fu (2000) focuses on the study of wide-stage of Hand Puppetry (Outdoor-stage Hand Puppetry) specifically and indicates its social functions, the relationship with religion, and the current situation of performing in a declining trend. He reveals that central are those who invite performers and the audiences, who both determine the opportunities for performance. Chen (2007) provides an historical view of Hand Puppetry's development, opera features, representative spirit, and future possibilities. It is noteworthy that artists have each inherited the skills of their respective masters, forming distinctive styles of performances. Hsieh (2009) reviews all types of Hand Puppetry under different governments and examines how politics

influenced their development and survival.

Lu (1995) has discusses the structure of troupes in Hand Puppetry, their organisational management, and supporting staff. Chen (2007) examines the practical system of Hand Puppetry on indoor-theatre stages. Regarding performances, Liu (1990) reveals that the nature of each type of puppet and their functions and roles in the plays. In addition, he highlights that a full staff will at least include a vocal leader, an assistant, a drummer, string players, and handymen. Chen (1993) illustrates the facial features of puppets to represent the natures of their roles. Chiang (1995) subdivides categories of various puppet characters in detail and sums up the types of plots adapted from ancient books to stories of swordsmen, as well as music applied to Hand Puppetry. Kuo (2005) provides an overview of Hand Puppetry in Kaohsiung and introduces the troupes to demonstrate its local history. Moreover, other associations and clubs in schools mention an increasing interest in learning and transmission. This book shares the perspectives of music, characters, costumes, and plots of Hand Puppetry, as well as taking TV Hand Puppetry in particular as a creative model for innovative market solutions. Referring to the beliefs and taboos of traditional operas, these are practical and unexceptional issues when staging and playing Hand Puppetry (see also Liu, 1990).

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

Referring to the term ‘intangible heritage’, most authors have adopted the definition of the UNESCO 2003 Convention and researched relevant international instruments. By examining these documents, one can see that international organisations (e.g. UNESCO and ICOMOS) have promoted the recognition and safeguarding intangible heritage and highlighted the significance of cultural diversity and human rights. However, what of those groups which are not recognised and are unlikely to be included on UNESCO’s list? How can they acquire the resources and dissemination without international cooperation? Certain authors (e.g. Londre`s, 2004; Demotte, 2004) have interpreted their intrinsic perspectives of intangible heritage within their regions; even as reviewed, the values of heritage are determined by people in their communities (Munjeri, 2004). Therefore, Taiwan has the right to interpret its intangible heritage itself. Kurin (2004) has argued that these categories can embrace all intangible elements world-wide. Have people in Taiwan thought about this concept before? Do they agree with all those national or international interpretations and inventories? How do they self-define intangible heritage? What kind of content can be considered to be intangible heritage? Are there any similarities or dissimilarities between UNESCO’s or the government’s perspectives? According to international documents and academic discussion, this study will investigate the experience in Taiwan as well as comparing classification

models in other societies. This study will review publications related to Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry. These have individually provided thorough histories of development and accounts of practices. However, based on the existing literature, the most recent literature dates to 2006 (Taiwanese Opera) and 2009 (Hand Puppetry). Therefore, it requires investigation into their current practices and organisational management and how performances operate in the new environment. Because none of the literature has perceived a contrast between Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry in the common conditions so far, it can be asked how they do relate to each other. Chapter 6 will also review findings generated by this study.

Wong (2009) shares the experience of training actors for Kunqu and how the government emphasises traditional operas in China. In addition, Huang (2008) indicates the physical work of transmitting intangible heritage both in Japan and Republic of Korea. Accordingly, this study will look at how practitioners of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry pass on their traditions and skills. Is there any particular system to incubate the younger generation? What can newcomers learn in their progress? At present, what are the threats to continuing performing arts as an intangible heritage? In Chapter 7, these debates will be examined based on the findings from the study.

As Deacon et al. (2004) mention, governments will protect intangible heritage with

legislation and consider political-economic conditions in the communities. To compare laws in other societies can help in examining Taiwan's related regulations of cultural heritage. Furthermore, practitioners' perspectives for and against can inform policy-making. Are people satisfied with the current laws in force? How can cultural policies be changed to contribute to safeguarding intangible heritage? In Chapter 8, this study will raise the self-examination and official awareness and implementations. Under this theoretical framework, ahead of the methodology of chapter, the next chapter will explore the context of intangible heritage in Taiwan from a political perspective and explain what has been categorised as potential intangible heritage.



## CHAPTER 3

### INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN TAIWAN: POLITICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Due to the political relationship between Taiwan and China, Taiwan remains a disputed politically and in an internationally ambiguous position. This chapter will outline Taiwan's status and its national and cultural identity from a political perspective. In addition, through examining Taiwan's policies of cultural heritage and the already registered types of Significant Traditional Arts, it will demonstrate Taiwan's context of heritage preservation outside of the UN system and generally explain how Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are considered to be intangible heritage in the performing arts in Taiwan.

#### 3.2 TAIWAN'S STATUS AND IDENTITY

##### *3.2.1 Political and international position*

With the victory in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, Mao Tse-tung established the People's Republic of China (P.R.C) on mainland China. Chiang Kai-shek led the remnants of his KMT government of the Republic of China (R.O.C.) to Taipei as a temporary capital and expected to "retake the mainland" (Dumbaugh, 2009: 1). The R.O.C. was a founding member of

the United Nations (UN) and permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1945. However, in 1971, two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly withdrew recognition from the R.O.C. and recognised the P.R.C. as the sole legitimate government of China. Since 1991, Taiwan's government has made efforts to re-apply for membership of or observer status in UN; however, this has been unsuccessful (p. 2).

At China's insistence, Taiwan has been excluded from some principal state-member-only international organisations. Its only opportunity is to be invited to participate in the Worlds Health Assembly (WHA) meetings as an observer, but as 'Chinese Taipei,' not Taiwan, in 2009. In addition, Taiwan has participated in some other non-state-members-only and non-governmental international organisations, including the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asian Development Bank, and the International Olympic Committee (deLisle, 2011).

### *3.2.2 National and cultural identity*

“National identity is located in the space between the collective cultural identity of the nation's people - what they consider themselves to be and desire to become - and the political identity that transfers the substance of cultural identity into values that underpin political activity” (O'Mahony & Delanty, 2001: 2). While the KMT government retreated from mainland China to Taiwan, many Chinese mainlanders arrived in Taiwan with the KMT

government. Although they are the minority in Taiwan, they have the most important political positions. The native Taiwanese is the majority of the population in Taiwan, and there was a problematic divide between 'Taiwanese' and 'Mainlanders'. However, such ethnic, social and political issues have faded in more recent years (Hsieh, 2004: 481).

In the past decades, under KMT domination, Chinese identity was imposed on Taiwan's society and was the dominant political ideology. For example, at pre-college schools, Chinese history and geography are essential lessons, rather than an understanding of Taiwan. In particular, only Mandarin is allowed to be spoken as the official language of Taiwan, R.O.C. (Cheng, 2005: 6). The process of raising Taiwanese identity has spread with Taiwan's democratisation in the late 1980s. Since the early 1990s, Taiwanese identity has rapidly taken the place of Chinese identity, brought about by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). (Horowitz. & Tan, 2005: 87). Remarkably, the DPP became the ruling party after the presidential election held in 2000, and retained the presidency until 2008, and it claimed that Taiwan is independent from mainland China (Cheng, 2005: 4).

From 1992 to 2004, the results of polls indicated that people identify themselves increasingly as '[Taiwanese](#)', from 17.3% to about 49%. Furthermore, since 2008, there have been surveys of Taiwanese identity conducted by the Taiwan Indicators Survey Research (TISR). Comparing similar polls during these years, they show that the number of people in

Taiwan who identify themselves as ‘Taiwanese’ has increased obviously, while the number of those who identify themselves as being Chinese has decreased. In addition, referring to future relations between Taiwan and China, certain respondents regard the two as ‘trade partners’. More than half of respondents believe that Taiwan should be eventually recognised as an independent nation (Wang, 2013).

As mentioned above, Taiwan’s political status has influenced the conception and development of Taiwanese cultural identity. There is a debate as to whether Taiwanese culture is a regional form of Chinese culture or a distinctive culture. Some dispute that Taiwan has its distinct culture on the grounds that the Taiwanese religion, language, and other cultural practices are similar to those of Fukien Province, China, where the first wave of immigrants to Taiwan came from. However, others argue that Taiwanese identity is based on observable cultural differences, a sense of group consciousness, of being separate from China, and having been ruled by the Dutch or the Japanese. The KMT’s political repression of the Taiwanese language and folk culture had the effect of enhancing the distinctiveness of Taiwanese culture. After the Taiwanisation movement in the 1990s, speaking Taiwanese became a symbol of Taiwanese identity (Wachman, 1994: 40-44; Bosco, 1994: 392-397; Katz, et al., 2003: 104). With long term of political separation from mainland China, a distinctive Taiwanese culture and traditions have developed. The cultures of Taiwan are a fusion of various cultures and

traditional practices, including traditional Chinese culture and customs, Japanese culture, and Western values (Yeh, 2009; Hsu, 2010).

### 3.3 LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

#### *3.3.1 Cultural heritage preservation act*

In Taiwan, “the preservation, maintenance and promotion of cultural heritage, and the transfer of any and all rights thereto shall be governed by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act”. In this Act, cultural heritage means (1) Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements; (2) Historical Sites; (3) Cultural Landscapes; (4) Traditional Arts; (5) Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts; (6) Antiquities; (7) Natural Landscapes (HACH, 2009). In conformity with this Act, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) is the central competent authority, being in charge of policy-making, planning and implementation, and the promotion and protection of culture heritage (CCA, 2010b). On 20<sup>th</sup> May 2012, the Council of Cultural Affairs was upgraded to the Ministry of Culture as part of a larger governmental reorganisation (MOC, R.O.C., 2012). Up until now, this Act has not yet changed the relevant items and does not affect its implementation to safeguard intangible heritage. Therefore, this study will still refer to the CCA as the central competent authority. The Headquarters Administration of the Cultural Heritage Council for Cultural Affairs (now upgraded to the Bureau of Cultural

Heritage) in Taichung is in charge of traditional arts affairs, and the National Center for Traditional Art is mostly devoted to popularising Traditional Arts (OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

In order to guide the direct-municipalities, county and city governments, and civil society in jointly promoting the relevant tasks of preservation, activation, and re-use of all kinds of cultural heritage, the CCA has developed a plan and classified the affairs of cultural heritage as A (Comprehensive Planning), B (Tangible Heritage), and C (Intangible Heritage), D (Heritage Development and Maintenance), and E (Research and Transmission) groups (CCA, 2010c). Central government provides local authorities different rates of subsidy according to the grade of county or city government. Cultural budgets are mainly based on a certain percentage of project funds allocated to different counties and cities. If a submitted plan passes the review, the central competent authority subsidises each city or county with a fixed percentage (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). However, from June 2009 to December 2010, the Taiwanese government approved several civic changes, including the upgrade of Taipei County to New Taipei City, the merger of Taichung City and County and Tainan City and County to Taichung City and Tainan City, and the merger of Kaohsiung City and County to Kaohsiung City (Chao, 2011). The percentage for distribution was adjusted accordingly.

The Traditional Arts referred to in this Act means the ‘traditional crafts and skills descended from different ethnic groups and locales, which includes traditional arts and crafts, and performing arts’. Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts encompasses customs, beliefs, festivals or any other related cultural artefacts related to the tradition and have a special cultural meaning. According to Article 4 of the Act, the competent authority is the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), and the direct-municipalities and the county or city governments are regarded as being local authorities. Article 6 of the Act states that “the competent authority shall establish relevant review committees to review the designation, registration of different cultural heritages and other important matters relating to this Act” (HACH, 2009). Matters not stipulated in this Act are governed by other related laws.

### *3.3.2 Enforcement rules of cultural heritage preservation*

According to Article 8 of this Act, the procedure of designation for Traditional Arts is to investigate individuals or organisations at the beginning and to decide whether they will be registered or not. In addition, the competent authority shall inform individuals or the organisations promoted in writing. Moreover, Article 17 indicates that the competent authority shall draft the plan of preservation and maintenance in accordance with Article 60 in the ‘Cultural Heritage Preservation Act’, which includes establishing files of basic data, making records for preservation, personnel training in transmission, the promotion of

educational activities, periodical recording and tracing, etc.

### *3.3.3 Review methods of revocation and designation of Traditional Arts and Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts*

According to Article 2 in this regulation, the criteria for the registration of Traditional Arts are stated to be as follows:

1. Artistry: skills or artists possessing artistic value;
2. Uniqueness: specific performances or artists with outstanding skills;
3. Locality: performances or artists which are valuable and localised, and those possessing distinguishing features of schools in the field of traditional arts.

The criteria of the designation of Significant Traditional Arts are listed in Article 3:

1. Those which reflect the living shape of people's livelihood or type of amusement in former times, and which possess an important value in the arts or the history of art;
2. Those which apparently have local colour or school characteristics, possess an important value in the arts or the history of art, and verge on failing to have been handed down from past generations;
3. Structural skills and techniques of traditional skills or artistic skills which are outstanding and in a nationally leading position.

Article 7 states that when those qualifications no longer exist, the registration of



Traditional Arts and Significant Traditional shall be revoked by the central competent authority. Article 4 of this regulation stipulates that the registration of Traditional Arts depends on the following procedures (Fig. 3.1):

1. An investigation;
2. A review and decision to register;
3. A public declaration;
4. Submission of the registration to the central competent authority for reference.

In the procedure of designation of Traditional Arts, firstly, the investigators launch a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organisations to collect information. Then, the investigators review the collected data and determine which has the potential to be registered or needs to be observed. The former will be recorded, traced, and promoted to review and register; the latter will be recorded and traced but not yet registered. Following that, the list will be submitted to the review committee for review and re-investigation. The committee will decide who will be registered and declare the result publicly. In addition, the registration list will be submitted to the central competent authorities for consideration for designation under Significant Traditional Arts.

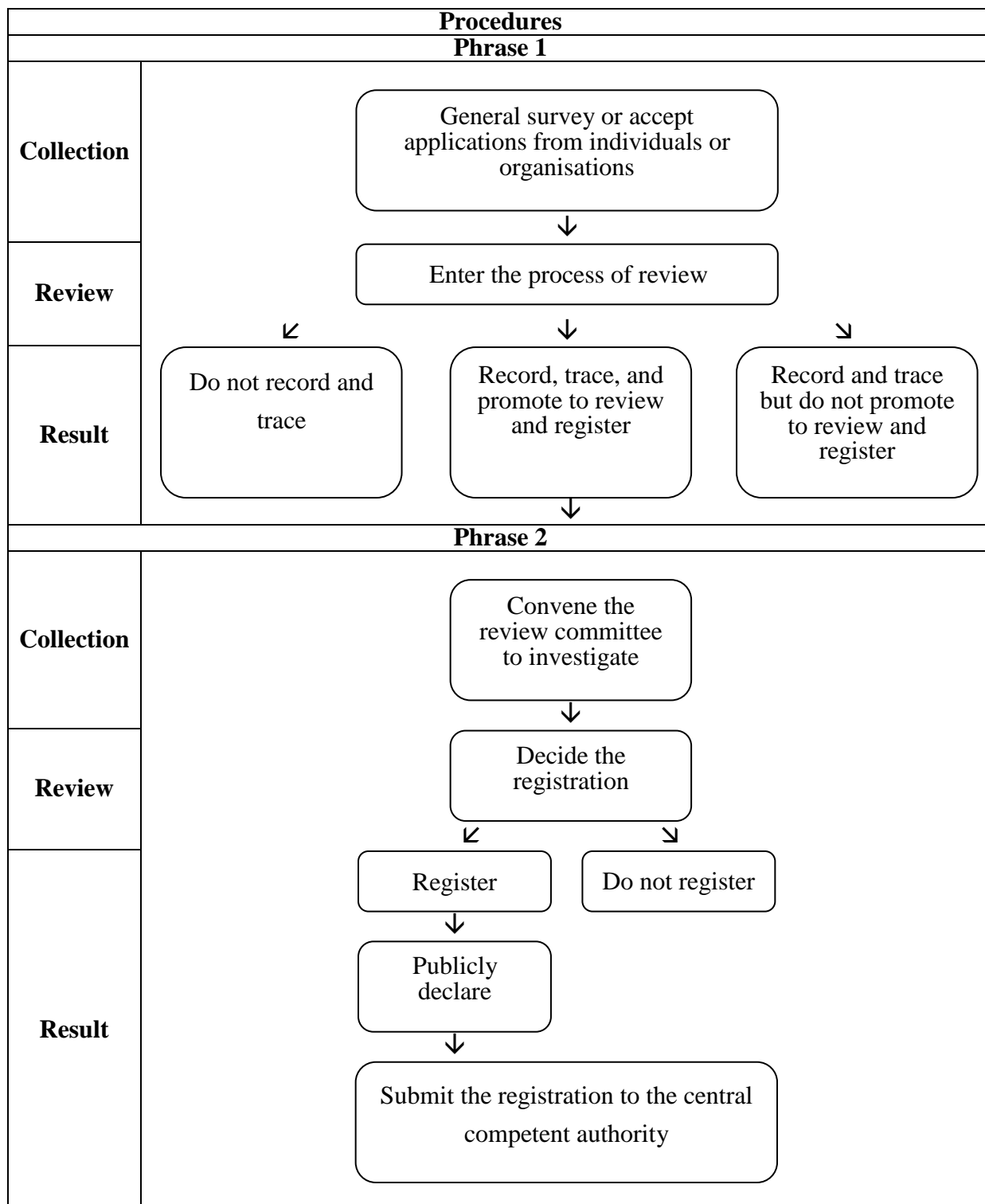


Figure 3.1 Registration of Traditional Arts (OA02, Female, Official Administrator)

Article 5 stipulates that Significant Traditional Arts should be designated by the central

competent authority, adhering to the following procedure (Fig. 3.2):

1. Investigate;
2. Review and make the decision to register;
3. Declare publicly.

After selecting a registered Traditional Arts, the central competent authority will convene a review committee to see who is qualified to be registered as Significant Traditional Arts. The result also has to be declared publicly.

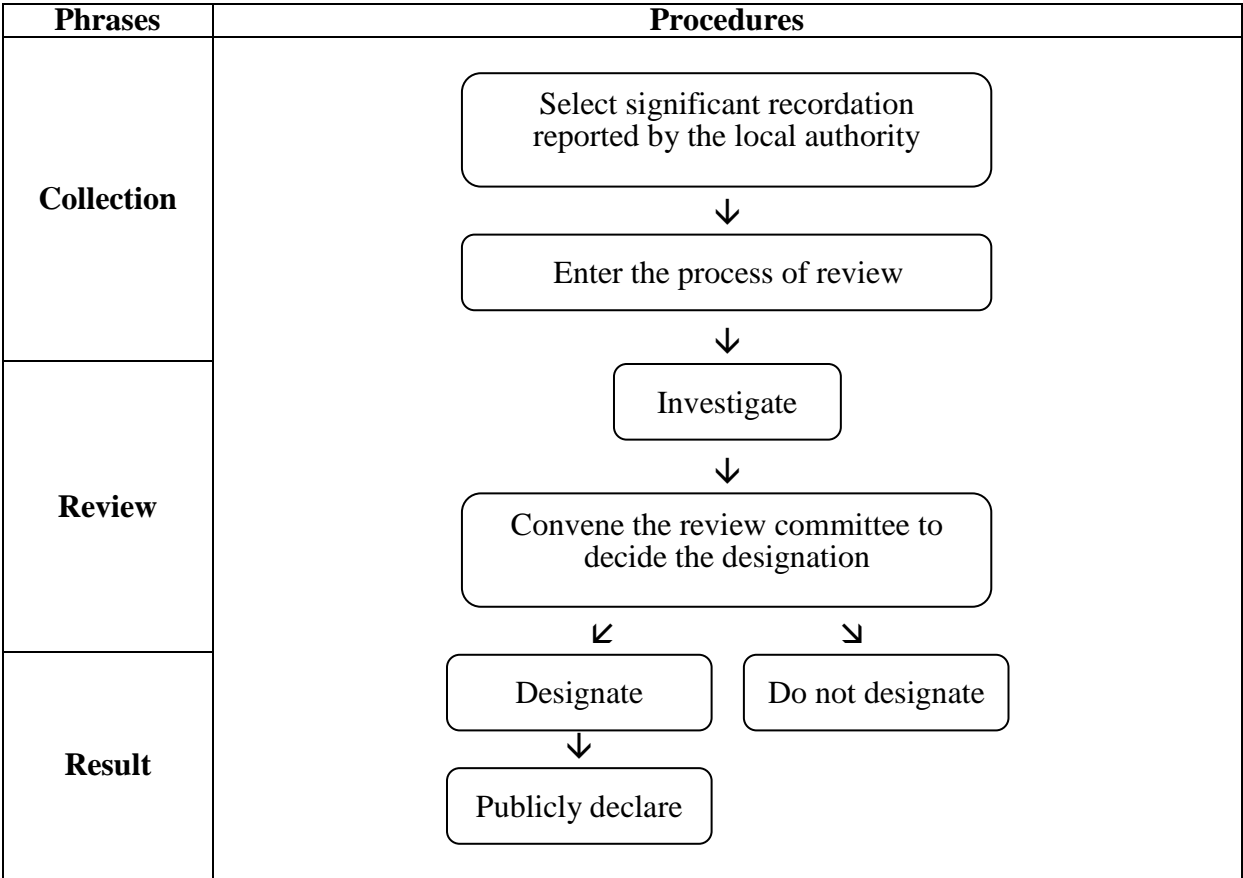


Figure 3.2 Designation of Significant Traditional Arts (CCA, 2012a)

#### *3.3.4 Principles of organisation of cultural heritage review committee*

As Article 6 in Cultural Heritage Preservation Act states, the competent authority shall establish relevant review committees to review the designation and registration of Traditional Arts. Article 3 of this Act stipulates that the review committee shall be composed of 9 to 21 members of authority officers and scholars; however, scholars shall not be less than two-thirds of review committee members. In addition, Article 5 of this Act prescribes that the tenure of review committee members shall be for 2 years, and that they can renew employment after the expiration of their term in duty.

#### 3.4 TAIWANESE CONTEXT TO HERITAGE

Because Taiwan is not a member of the UN, it is not included into UNESCO's membership either. Despite political barriers, Taiwan's government has made efforts to protect and promote its tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage list. There are about 18 locations identified as potential world heritage sites. In addition, the CCA has been promoting potential recognition of 10 items of cultural heritage - including the Atayal origin myth, Bunun music pasibutbut, Beiguan music, Hand Puppetry, Taiwanese Opera, pasted-paper sculpture, the Amis harvest festival, the

Saisiyat ceremony in honour of a people who preceded them, and the worship of Wang Ye and Ma Zu - and naming those items to be contributions of intangible heritage to Taiwan's cultural diversity (Tsai, 2010).

The Bureau of Cultural Heritage (BOCH), under the MOC, in recent years, has been working closely with local governments and private sector partners on heritage management to ensure the sustainability of cultural heritage. Until 2013, there are also nearly 40 cultural landscapes, 120 folk customs, and 180 traditional arts under government protection. The BOCH collaborates with universities as well to launch forums, lectures, workshops for cultural workers, publishes practical guides, and reviews the system of policy for cultural heritage preservation. According to UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage, the BOCH identifies Significant Traditional Arts (traditional arts and crafts, and performing arts), invites senior practitioners to induct training courses, and produces related documentary films. For instance, since 2009, the BOCH has designated 24 artists of Significant Traditional Arts (two of whom are now deceased) and has organised more than 20 four-year projects for senior artists in Traditional Arts to transmit their skills to young people (OA03, Female, Official Administrator; Her, 2013). Table 3.1 illustrates the designation of Significant Traditional Arts by the BOCH from 2009 to 2012.

<b>Number</b>	<b>Year of Designation</b>	<b>Name of Designation</b>	<b>Individual/Group preserver</b>	<b>City/County</b>
1	2009	Beiguan Music	The Lichun Yuan Beiguan Troupe	Changhua County
2	2009	Hand Puppetry	Shih-Huang Chen.	Taipei City
3	2009	Taiwanese Opera	Chiung-Chih Liao	New Taipei City
4	2009	Telling and Singing	Hsiu-Ching Yang	New Taipei City
5	2009	Beiguan Drama	The Hanyang Beiguan Troupe	Yilan County
6	2010	Nanguan Drama	Su-Shia Lin Wu	Taichung City
7	2010	Lacquer Craft	Ching-Shuang Wang	Nantou County
8	2010	Bamboo Weaving Craft	Tu-Shan Huang	Nantou County
9	2010	Bunun Music Pasibutbut	Nantou County Bunun Cultural Association	Nantou County
10	2010	Eight Notes of Hakka Music	Miao-Li Chen Family Beiguan Eight Notes Group	Miaoli County
11	2011	Nanguan Music	Hung-Ming Chang	Tainan City
12	2011	Hand Puppetry	Chun-Hsiung Huang	Yunlin County
13	2011	Hakka Folk Song	Pi-Hsia Lai	Taoyuan County
14	2011	Paiwan Mouth and Nose Pipes	Shui-Neng Hsieh	Pingtung County
15	2011	Paiwan Tribe's Mouth and Nose Pipes	Kun-Chung Hsu	Pingtung County
16	2011	Comic Dialogue Crosstalk	Jau-Nan Wu	Taipei City
17	2011	Tin Craft	Wan-Neng Chen	Changhua County
18	2011	Dressing the Buddha	Chih-Hui Shih	Changhua County
19	2011	Traditional Woodcarving	Chen-Yang Shih	Changhua County
20	2012	Traditional Architectural Coloured Drawing	Shou-Yi Chen (Deceased)	Tainan City
21	2012	Atayal Narrative Song	Ming-Fu Lin	Taoyuan County
22	2012	Manjhou Ballad	Jih-Kuei Chang	Pingtung County
23	2012	Hengchun Ballad	Ting-Shuen Chu (Deceased)	Pingtung County
24	2012	Yilan Local Gua-ah	Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe	New Taipei City

Table 3.1 Designation of Significant Traditional Arts (2009 - 2012)

After the KMT restrictions on popular religious festivals, some festivals were revived and have become symbols of Taiwaneseenness (Bosco, 1994: 396). Hand Puppetry relates to those festivals closely and plays a significant role as well as a symbol of Taiwaneseenness (Katz et al., 2003: 104). As mentioned above, the Taiwanisation movement advocates the awareness and promotion of the Taiwanese language, popular culture, and folk religion. “Cultures are most fully expressed in and made conscious of themselves in their ritual and theatrical performances” (Turner, 1980; Cheng, 2005: 10). Ritual and theatre performances can help to unite people in the community (Geertz, 1973).

Among the theatrical performances designated as Significant Traditional Arts (see Table 3.1), Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry use ‘Taiwanese’, the ‘mother tongue’ of the majority of people in Taiwan (Chang, 1997: 111), as the main language of performances. Taiwanese Opera is one of manifestations of Taiwan’s cultural identity, while Hand Puppetry is considered to be representative of traditional performing arts in Taiwan. Both of are symbols of Taiwanese culture and identify with other strong expressions of Taiwanese culture, namely Taiwanese lyrics and music (Greenfeld, 1992; Katz et al., 2003: 101-105). Therefore, this study is locates Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry as part of Taiwan’s intangible heritage in the performing arts.

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

In international society, Taiwan is in a difficult position because of China's intervention, which results in Taiwan unable to participate in the UN, its affiliate organisations and other governmental organisations. Taiwan's identity has been influenced by political circumstances. Taiwan was under the KMT rule after its retreat from mainland China in 1949. During that time, Chinese ideology was overwhelmingly promoted in Taiwanese society. More and more people, in particular, pre-college students, regarded themselves as 'Chinese'. With the Taiwanisation and democratisation movements, the conception of a Taiwanese identity has been rapidly promoted, especially during the DPP administration from 2000 to 2008. Since then, there have been a large number of people in Taiwan identifying themselves as 'Taiwanese'.

Taiwan's intangible heritage includes traditional arts and crafts, the performing arts, folk customs and related cultural artefacts, and cultural heritage preservation. Traditional arts include traditional arts and crafts, and the performing arts, among others. The procedure of designating and registering intangible heritage under Traditional Arts is to investigate, review and make a decision to register, declare publicly, and submit the registration to the central competent authority to be added to the list for registration as a Traditional Art by county or



city governments. Thereafter, the central competent authority will choose the Significant Traditional Arts for registration from the submitted list.

Although Taiwan is not a member of UNESCO, Taiwan's government is devoted to safeguard its heritage. Among those registered items of cultural heritage, the performances of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are linked to the Taiwanese language and to festivals. Therefore, they are considered to be a symbol of Taiwaneseeness and Taiwan's identity and can be considered to be Taiwan's intangible heritage. The next chapter will demonstrate methods and research techniques (e.g. interviews, observations) to approach the research questions and the data analysis.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the kinds of methods that are appropriate to the research questions, given the evaluation's purpose and priorities, and how to determine sampling and collect evaluation data for the fieldwork. In addition, through understanding the evaluation's rationale, this study ensured careful attention to ethical considerations in order to facilitate analysis and credible findings of relevant issues. To begin the study, I drew up a research process: (1) Identify a research topic; (2) Literature review; (3) Formulate research questions; (4) Determine research methods; (5) Select a research sample; (6) Consider ethical issues; (7) Collect data; (8) Analyse data; (9) Write up research.

My research scheme was based on theories derived from comprehensively examining the methodology literature (e.g. Kumar, 2011; Kothari, 2004; Flick, 2011). Among others, Kumar (2011: 18-27) states that the research process (Table 4.1) has three phases, including eight operational steps, and each requires theoretical knowledge. In addition, Kothari (2004: 11-12) provides a guideline concerning the research process by various procedural steps (Table 4.2), and Table 4.3 illustrates another model of research process provide by Flick (2011: 48).

<b>Phases</b>	<b>Steps</b>
<b>Deciding what to research</b>	<b>Formulating a research problem</b>
Planning a research study	Conceptualising a research design
	Constructing an instrument for data collection
	Selecting a sample
	Writing a research proposal
Constructing an instrument for data collection	Collecting data
	Processing data
	Writing a research report

Table 4.1 Research process (Kumar, 2011)

<b>Phrases</b>	<b>Steps</b>
Define research problem	Formulating the research problem
Review the literature	Extensive literature survey
Review concepts And theories	
Review previous Research finding	
Formulate hypotheses	Developing the hypothesis
	Preparing the research design
Design research (including sample design)	Determining sample design
Collect data (Execution)	Collecting the data
	Execution of the project
Analyse data (Test hypotheses if any)	Analysis of data
	Hypothesis testing
Interpret and report	Generalisations and interpretation
	Formal write-up of conclusions reached

Table 4.2 Research process (Kothari, 2004)

<b>Phrases</b>	<b>Steps</b>
Orientation	What is social research?
	Research question
	Literature review
Planning and design	Planning research
	Design research
	Deciding methods
Working with data	Gathering data
	Analyzing data
	E-research
	Integrated research
Reflection and writing	Evaluating research
	Ethics
	Writing and using research

Table 4.3 Research process (Flick, 2011)

## 4.2 IDENTIFYING A RESEARCH TOPIC AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although it is not necessary to carry out the study step by step sequentially following the research guide (Kothari, 2004: 12), nevertheless, identifying a research topic which interests the researcher to begin with is a logical place to start (Marczyk et al., 2005: 28). While I decided what to study and before thinking about research questions, the literature review was the starting point of the research process, which helped with examining existing literature and available knowledge as theoretical background, contributing to the study generally (Kumar, 2011: 31). With the literature review, I tried to find gaps in the topic; to narrow or broaden the topic, and to investigate an appropriate range of studies (Driscoll, 2011: 158). As already stated in Chapter 1, I intended to study the topic ‘Living Heritage: Intangible Heritage in Performing Arts in Taiwan’, inspired by the concept of UNESCO 2003 Convention, in order to view Taiwan’s intangible heritage from alternative angles. Taking into account the research

scale and evaluating its complexity, this thesis generally discusses intangible heritage and specifically the domain of performing arts. Therefore, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry were selected as case studies, because these are images of Taiwan's identity.

In general, a research question starts with general and changing concepts (Kishore et al., 2010: 185), which is made specific, narrowed, and answerable by employing research methods; otherwise, there will be a puzzle in analysing data and producing a written piece of research (Driscoll, 2011: 158). Accordingly, I have formulated and refined repeatedly the main research questions: What is the traditional intangible heritage and identity in Taiwan and how is it practiced and implemented?

In respect of what is a good research question, Cummings et al. (2007: 19) suggests that it should be Feasible, Interesting, Novel, Ethical, and Relevant (FINER). When asking a research question, its feasibility is taken into account by examining the range of the study, and if the researcher is competent to handle the project in the available time and resources, and has the expertise. The researcher will focus on the most important objectives and avoid strenuous effort and excessive budgets. Interest is considered to be a sufficient reason to investigate a research question, and it raises motivation and sustains the energy of the researcher to overcome barriers and challenges during the period of study. In addition, the appeal of the research question appeals to other people, too. The nature of the novelty of a

research question ensures that the study findings are new, or are an extension of previous studies with advanced techniques to improve their insufficiency. It is noticeable that a good research question does not violate ethics, and care must be taken in dealing with sensitive issues and private information, as well as avoiding any physical hazards (Cummings et al., 2007: 20-21). Last, but not the least, it is extremely important to define a research question relevant to the topic, one that can advance the existing knowledge, helps to influence practical policy, and advises on further studies (Cummings et al., 2007: 22; Kumar, 2011: 48).

As already emphasised in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, there has been much literature looking at Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, but the research questions will provide new answers on where they do coincide and where they do not. It is noteworthy that the investigation will violate the practitioners' privacy, so before I started, I sought their approval. Looking at the proposed research questions of this study, all matched the FINER criteria.

#### 4.3 DESIGNING RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Research methods are the tools to comprehend and work out specific research issues. Therefore, it is vital to use the best methods to attain the objectives of the study, while being clear about how and when to make use of them. It has a risk, to some extent, of relying on a single method to answer all of the research questions. Accordingly, an effective study should

be open to a wide range of methods to meet the requirements of different situations (Moore, 2006: 12, 103).

#### *4.3.1 Determining research methods*

While choosing the appropriate research approaches and techniques to draw on in this study, I examined three types of research methods (quantitative, qualitative, and documentary research) and differentiated between quantitative and qualitative research, the two most significant approaches to primary data and secondary data collection (Finlay, 2010: 2-3).

“Primary sources provide first-hand information and secondary sources provide second-hand data” (Kumar, 2011: 139). This study aims to understand the feelings, concepts, and attitudes of participants as well as to clarify meanings of intangible heritage and situations of safeguarding work: data which is uncountable. Therefore, I selected qualitative research for fieldwork rather than quantitative research, which is mainly used to measure the magnitude of variation (Moore, 2006: 104-106). In other words, quantitative research is to investigate to what degree things happen with statistical analyses to achieve the findings (Marczyk et al., 2005: 17).

Denzin & Ryan (2007: 584) also state that qualitative research is used to interpret things and is characterised by an approach to their meaning, which involves “the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspection,

life story, interview, and observational, historical, interactional and visual texts - which describe routine and problematic moment and meanings in individuals' lives". I therefore applied qualitative research to examine practitioners' lives, stories, and behaviours, as well as their organisations and relationships (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 206), and attempted to understand how individuals conceive of the concept of intangible heritage in performing arts (Barbour, 2008: 12).

In general, methods for conducting fieldwork include observations, interviews, questionnaire survey, case studies, and so on (Kothari, 2004: 7). I used interviews and observations instead of statistical measurement to quantify the study (Marczyk et al., 2005: 17). Interview techniques were used to understand the feelings of the participants, and their fundamental attitudes, faiths, values (Moore, 2006: 141), experiences, perceptions, opinions, and knowledge (Patton, 2003: 2), and ascertaining their life stories (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 217). In my interviews, I conducted question-and-answer colloquies between me and one of or more participants (McQueen & Knussen, 2002: 206). With this regard, when I chose to apply the interview technique, I also decided the amount, type, and format of interview questions, which determined the type of structure (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003: 44) - structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews are commonly used (Cousin, 2009: 71).



I conducted semi-structured or unstructured interviews in my quantitative research because these are more flexible approaches than structured interviews. In theory, using structured interviews requires invited responses from all participants with certain prepared and uniform questions, which are mainly closed but can be open-ended. The investigators must have an order of interview questions listed on interview schedules in hand and communicate with the interviewees (Kumar, 2011: 145). Nevertheless, I wanted to conduct interviews as informal chats to avoid being too solemn. Therefore, I used semi-structured interviews with a few questions and discussable topics within predefined areas. In the interviews, I could vary the order of questions and add or neglect some, according to individual responses (Lodico et al., 2010: 124). I also used unstructured interviews, which are informal conversations that can provide great flexibility without predetermined interview schedules. I merely provided the topics of interest to participants and directed them towards the discussions (Roulston, 2010: 15).

Interviews can provide narrative data. Furthermore, I intended to comprehend the practical work of troupes and artists (e.g. performances, rehearsals, trainings, staging, etc.), which were information not provided in the interviews. “Observation is a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place” (Kumar, 2011: 140). According to the degree of observer participation,

observation is classified as participant observation and non-participant observation. The former is to participate in the group's activities and interactions and members of the group may not know if the observer is a complete participant as one of them. The latter is not involved in the group's activities, no matter if the observer is visibly present or not. The researcher remains as a passive observer, watching and listening to ascertain information needed (Lodico et al., 2010: 124; Kumar, 2011: 141). Because I wanted to see practitioner behaviours rather than be a member, I applied non-participant observations as an onlooker to the fieldwork. Meanwhile, I informed the participants that they were being observed, for ethical concerns. Consequently, apart from secondary source documentary research data, qualitative semi-structured and unstructured interviews (depending on the different interviewees), and non-participant observations were all used as research methods to collect primary source data and answer the proposed research questions.

#### *4.3.2 Selecting a research sample*

While selecting samples as participants to investigate, I determined who could possibly provide information. There are various types of sampling: probability sampling, non-probability sampling, and systematic sampling are commonly-used strategies (Kumar, 2011: 198). Probability sampling, or random sampling, is where each element of the population can be selected in the sample equally and independently (p. 199). Non-probability

sampling is non-random and used to select a population with unknown-number elements as the sample (p. 206). In addition, using systematic sampling is to mix the former two categories of sampling and select the sample from intervals of elements. I judged that non-probability sampling could be used in my qualitative research, which included quota sampling, accidental sampling, expert sampling, purposive sampling, and snowball sampling (p. 208).

I had considered using quota sampling and identifying the sample characters of participants, including location (i.e. Kaohsiung City) and professions (i.e. practitioners of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, Official administrators). According to these conditions, I tried to find people who most possibly had relevant experiences for this study. However, at the beginning, I did not require a number of participants to meet a 'quota' (Mack et al., 2005: 5). In terms of accidental sampling, this is similar to quota sampling but without the criteria of area and profession.

Accidental sampling also requires a predetermined number of participants (Kumar, 2011: 207). Therefore, these two sampling designs were not the most appropriate in my case, because both required a predetermined number.

I therefore decided to employ purposive sampling, not because it is a more commonly-used sampling strategy for qualitative research. My consideration in selecting the

sample was based on my judgment of who would very likely share the required information. Willingness is very important to help with understanding the deeper thoughts of participants. It was not necessary to pre-decide the number while I selected samples, and the size of samples depended on the saturation point of data collection. Moreover, expert sampling is similar to purposive sampling: the only difference is that the respondents are experts already known in the field of the research interest (Kumar, 2011: 207). Because I emphasised the willingness of participants who could be relevant to my research topics but not necessarily known as experts, sampling was not therefore on an expert-oriented basis. I used my social networks to start with to contact certain individuals who could provide the required data or introduce other potential participants to begin the snowball sampling process (Mack et al., 2005: 6).

In sum, I primarily employed purposive sampling as well as snowball sampling to select participants in order to collect primary data (Fig. 4.1). The fieldwork of the study was determined to investigate Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry troupes and official administrators in Southern Taiwan, mainly in the Kaohsiung area. To start with, I used friend sourcing to obtain a list of troupes registered in Kaohsiung from formal survey results, through which I found there to be 18 Taiwanese Opera troupes and 11 Hand Puppetry troupes. Then, I called each of them one by one to select potential participants by telephone. After

contacting them, it was found that some of them were merely titular, and some declined to participate in the investigation. It is noteworthy that some troupes were willing to be in the sample if they knew someone in common with me. Accordingly, 23 participants were selected in this study, including 6 Taiwanese Opera troupe representatives, 12 Hand Puppetry troupe members, 3 official administrators, and 2 other relevant people. Respondents were coded TO for Taiwanese opera, HP for Hand Puppetry, OA for an official administrator, and CA for Community Association. Their backgrounds are as follows:

- TO01 has been a male head of a Taiwanese Opera troupe since 1970. He was the playwright and director, and his daughters are in the leading roles. Due to reducing number of performance opportunities, he is retired and devotes his time to promoting Taiwanese opera and assisting the building of a temple.
- TO02 joined her current Taiwanese Opera troupe after graduation from university - she was recruited by the troupe leader, who was her teacher in the school club. She is in charge of the troupe's administration and a full-time performer.
- TO03 is a male staff member whose mother and aunt established a troupe of Taiwanese Opera. His aunt was the male leading role and his mother was a Chou (clown). After his aunt passed away and his mother became less active, his cousin established another troupe. TO03 is currently supporting two troupes.

- TO04 is a female performer of Taiwanese Opera. When she was in high school, she was a leader of Taiwanese Opera school club. After she graduated from high school, she decided to continue with Taiwanese opera instead of going to university. At present, she is a female leading role with her sister, who acts the male leading role in a small Taiwanese Opera troupe.
- TO05 is a female head, and TO06 is a female performer of an amateur troupe of Taiwanese Opera. They came together because of similar interests in performance and formed the troupe in the 1980s to promote and transmit Taiwanese Opera.
- TO07 is a music teacher particular in traditional opera music. His parents were performers of Taiwanese Opera, now his mother is retired and guides the younger generation how to act when needed.
- HP01, HP02, HP03, and HP04 are members of the same Hand Puppetry troupe. HP01 is the founder of this troupe, and although is now retired from performing, he supervises the troupe's operation. His eldest son, HP02, inherited the troupe and the second son, HP03, is one of puppeteers of the troupe. HP04 is HP02's student who is also a puppeteer and assists with the administration.
- HP05 is a head of a troupe inherited from his father. HP06 is his male student and currently a high school teacher and a puppeteer. HP12 is a female member of staff and

HP05's family is in charge of administration.

- HP07 is the male head of a Hand Puppetry troupe. He learned how to play Hand Puppetry from his uncle. He has established a troupe which gathered members with a variety of specialties. However, he is also an elected town councillor and endeavours for more political resources.
- HP08 is the senior male head of a Hand Puppetry troupe. He is gradually passing on the troupe to his student and he concentrates on making puppet hats and accessories and teaching Hand Puppetry at university clubs and primary schools.
- HP09 is a male puppeteer and assists his father's troupe when they have performances. Otherwise, he runs a restaurant to make a living.
- HP10 learned Hand Puppetry from a master, and HP11 is the son of his master. They sometimes support each other and co-train their sons to be potential puppeteers.
- OA01 is a male is the head of a section of regional government which manages performing arts teams in the city.
- OA02 is a female regional government administrator in charge of traditional arts, including traditional arts and crafts and the performing arts.
- OA03 is a female chief of a section of central authorisation responsible for the registration and preservation of traditional performing arts.

- CA01 is a community association director, and she continues her mother-in-law's mission to promote community education, particularly in the traditional performing arts.

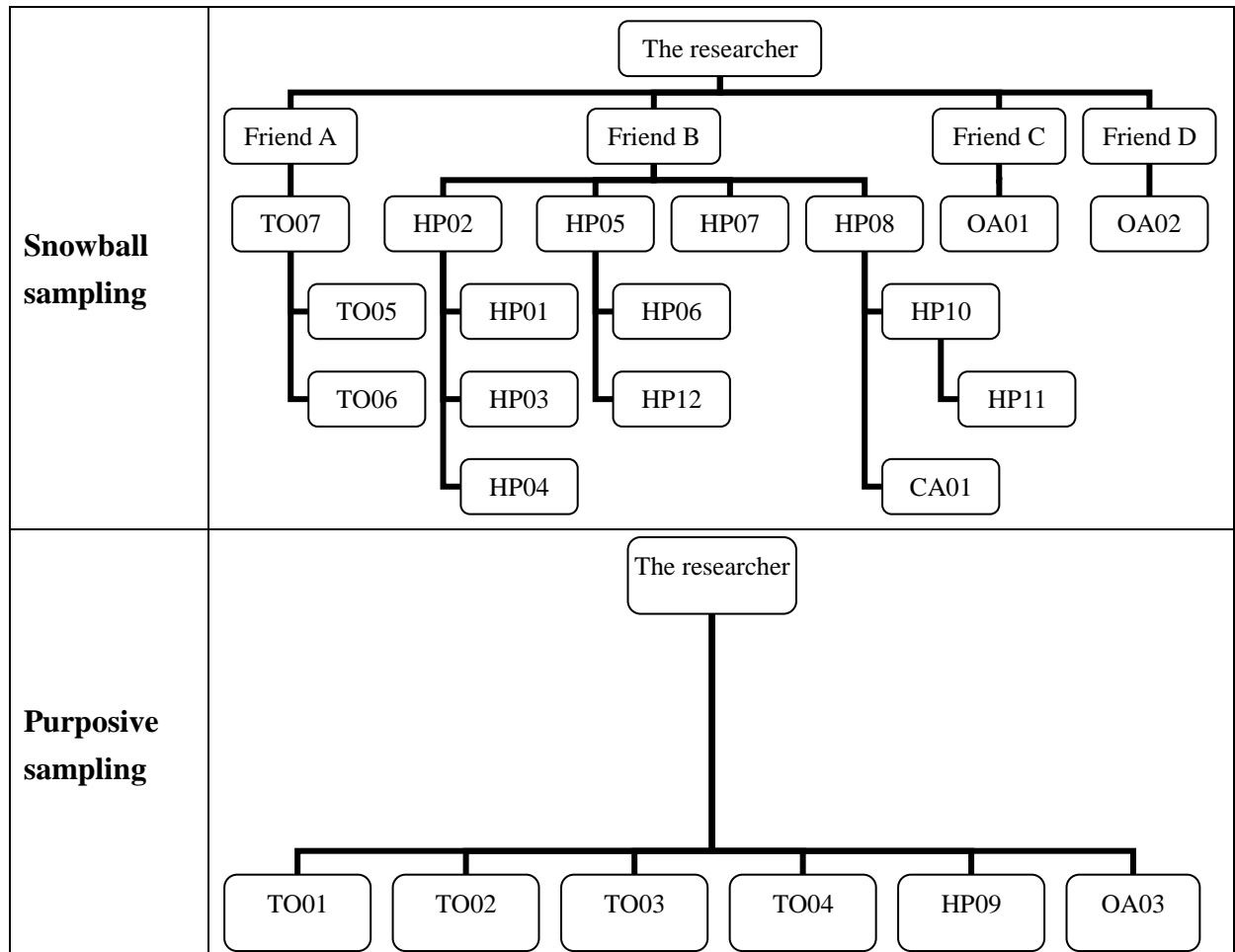


Figure 4.1 Sampling strategies of the study

#### 4.4 DATA COLLECTION

##### 4.4.1 Ethical considerations

Before participating in a study, participants selected are informed about the purpose of the



study, the funding body, the investigator, the use of the data and what they are required to do in the investigation (Lewis, 2003: 66-67). I collected data sources by interviews and non-participant observations from participants, and all were over the age of 16 years. Prior to participating in the process, I invited participants to read and sign an informed consent form (see Appendix 1) to confirm that they had read and understood the accompanying information for the study and had the opportunity to ask relevant questions, and to agree to take part in the investigation. In addition, the participants understood that participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any time, without having to give any reason, and without their legal rights being affected. Furthermore, I was able to withdraw their data up to the point of publication. A participant's data will be destroyed should they have decided to withdraw. Incidentally, during the investigations, as well as informing the participants of their rights, I was building trust between us through my understanding attitude, interest, and respect.

To protect the participants' privacy, their data were coded (e.g. TO, HP, OA, CA), and their names will not be attached to the data. A list which links the names of the participants with their numbers is kept and accessed only by me. Participants' names or any other private information will never be used in any analyses or reports. In addition, responses will be translated by me, so participant confidentiality will be well-maintained. However, it is impossible to maintain anonymity since participants were interviewed individually and of

course names and other aspects of identity will be known. I provided a full explanation of how the data will be kept and used as part of the interview process. Responses will be kept for the purpose of data analysis and reporting. Regarding the management of collected data, all video and audio recordings and documents in electronic format will be stored and password protected. In addition, handwritten notebooks will be in locked files.

#### *4.4.2 Collecting data*

Qualitative interviews and non-observations were recorded as part of this study. Interview conversations and observational activities were recorded as part of this study. Handwritten notes and typing documents were the primary information from field research. Table 4.4 illustrates the interview diary, including the interviewees with their gender and position, interview time, and interview location, while the observation diary is shown in Table 4.5.

<b>Code</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Location</b>
TO01	M	Head of Troupe	21 <sup>st</sup> March 2010 11.00-13.00	Office of troupe
TO02	F	Staff/Performer	3 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 10.00-11.20	Office of troupe
TO03	M	Staff	4 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 10.50-12.40	Restaurant
TO04	F	Performer	8 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 16.30-17.30	Restaurant
TO05	F	Head of Troupe	2 <sup>nd</sup> April 2010	Office of troupe
TO06	F	Amateur/Teacher	10.00-13.00	
TO07	M	Teacher	1 <sup>st</sup> April 2010 20.00-21.20	Residence of participant
HP01	M	Supervisor		Residence of participants
HP02	M	Head of Troupe	19 <sup>th</sup> March 2010	
HP03	M	Puppeteer	15.00-17.30	
HP04	M	Puppeteer		
HP05	M	Head of Troupe	20 <sup>th</sup> March 2010	Office of troupe
HP06	M	Puppeteer	14.00-17.00	
HP12	F	Staff		
HP07	M	Head of Troupe	24 <sup>th</sup> March 2010 14:00-15:40	Residence of participant
HP08	M	Head of Troupe	25 <sup>th</sup> March 2010 16:30-19:30	Residence of participant
			5 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 14.00-16.30	Residence of participant
HP09	M	Puppeteer	1 <sup>st</sup> April 2010 14.30-14.50	Small park
HP10	M	Head of Troupe	5 <sup>th</sup> April 2010	Residence of participant
HP11	M	Head of Troupe	21.00-01.00	
OA01	M	Official Administrator	8 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 14.00-15.30	Office of administration
OA02	F	Official Administrator	17 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 14.00-13.50	Office of administration
OA03	F	Official Administrator	14 <sup>th</sup> March 2013 14.00-16.00	Office of administration
CA01	F	Community Association Director	10 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 10.30-12.00	Classroom of primary school

Table 4.4 Interview's diary of the study

<b>Code</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Location</b>
TO03	M	Staff	Performance	9 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 15.30-17.10	Square in front of temple
TO05	F	Head of Troupe	Training	7 <sup>th</sup> April 2010	Office of troupe
TO06	F	Amateur/Teacher		19.00-22.00	
HP01	M	Supervisor	Staging and Performance	27 <sup>th</sup> March 2010 16.30-22.00	Square near temple
HP02	M	Head of Troupe			
HP03	M	Puppeteer			
HP04	M	Puppeteer			
HP08	M	Head of Troupe	Teaching pupils	30 <sup>th</sup> March 2010 13.30-16.00	Library of primary school
			Symposium	31 <sup>th</sup> March 2010 13.00-14.00	Conference room of primary school
			Performance	4 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 16.00-18.00	Square near temple
			Adult education	10 <sup>th</sup> April 2010 10.30-12.00	Classroom of primary school
HP09	M	Puppeteer	Performance	1 <sup>st</sup> April 2010 15.00-16.30	Small park near temple
HP10	M	Head of Troupe	Staging and Performance	7 <sup>th</sup> April 15.00-18.00	Square in front of temple

Table 4.5 Observation's diary of the study

According to the interview situation, I decided when to use semi-structured or unstructured interview method (Table 4.6). For example, I conducted group interviews with Group A (TO05, TO06), Group B (HP01, HP02, HP03, HP04), Group C (HP05, HP06, HP12), and Group D (HP10, HP11). There were more group discussions between me and participants; therefore, the unstructured interview was appropriate to allow free conversations. As mentioned above, the distinction between semi-structured and unstructured interviews is important; unstructured interviews were better for more voluble participants, such as TO01, HP08, and OA01. I provided those participants with some topics, and they shared the

information as required. The other participants needed me to guide them to answer the questions relevant to the study within a semi-structured interview. Furthermore, all interviews were recorded, excluding the interview with Group B (HP01, HP02, HP03, HP04), due to a technical problem with the recorder; the recording of interview with CA01 is also not clear; but key conversations were noted down instead.

Regarding the observations, I aimed to demonstrate the performances and training of practitioners in practice. Therefore, non-participant observation was the main research method to comprehend how they work when activities were available. During the observations, I was not involved in the activities and reduced the opportunities to integrate with the participants being observed. Sometimes, I made enquiries about something unknown as part of the interviews. For instance, when the participants were staging, I asked questions about the stage properties and their functions. Table 4.8 indicates the interview techniques I employed during the investigations.

Interview techniques	Unstructured interview	Semi-structured interview
Participants	TO01	TO02
	Group A (TO05, TO06)	TO03
	Group B (HP01, HP02)	TO04
	HP03, HP04)	TO07
	Group C (HP05, HP06, HP12)	HP07
	HP08	HP09
	Group D (HP10, HP11)	OA02
	OA01	OA03
		CA01

Table 4.6 Interview techniques applied on participants

#### 4.5 ANALYSIS AND USE OF DATA

After collecting data, the researcher will analyse the collected data to answer the proposed research questions. Analysis is required because it can provide evidence which is capable of demonstrating existing knowledge and phenomena (Ryan, 2006: 94). When conducting research, the deductive and inductive approaches are two broad methods of logical reasoning. The deductive approach starts with formulating some general hypotheses about the topic of interest to confirm or contradict original theories through collected observations. The inductive approach begins with specific observations to explore and develop some general conclusions or theories (Goddard & Melville, 2004; Trochim, 2006). In brief, theories are formulated prior to the collection of data with the deductive approach, while using the inductive approach to develop theories occurs after the data has been collected (Saunders et al., 2009: 41). Although this research has posed research questions and objectives, it does not have any predetermined theories before data collection. Therefore, inductive approach is applicable to lead the results of research to theories.

##### *4.5.1 Preparing and reviewing data*

At the initial phase of analysis, becoming familiar with the data is vital in order to begin develop potential codes, that helps to identify themes and patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 93).

In this study, the qualitative data gathered has four forms: images (e.g. performance albums), sound (e.g. conversations, speeches), video (e.g. performance or training recordings), and written words (e.g. script, documents) (Bernard & Ryan, 2010: 10). Before analysing data, transcribing is the first step in analysing data, which represents audible and visual data as written form (Akinyoade, 2013: 7). “The term transcribing means creating a written record that is exactly what was said - i.e. typing up your interviews” (Driscoll, 2011: 166). Transcribing provides a ‘visible’ data of interaction with participants, which is not only a substitute of recording but also a tool used in the process of analysing data. With the development of technology, audio or video recordings are digitalised, which can be worked with computer software (Bryman & Hardy, 2009: 593). Therefore, I manually transcribed data from the fieldwork word by word. When transcribing interviews, I played, paused, and listened to the recordings using Windows Media Player to type the interviews in a text format.

Being the interviewer, I was the most appropriate person to transcribe the interviews on the grounds that I had been involved and had learnt what the participants had said. In addition, by transcribing, I could examine them to avoid any weaknesses and plan a better interview in the next interviews (Ives, 1995: 75). As well as the foregoing reasons, for the ethical obligation, I was the only person to process data as the basis of the writing-up. While handling the transcripts, I jotted down any question when it came into mind. “Transcripts may

also need to be translated into the language(s) of the organisation sponsoring the study” (Mack et al., 2005: 84). Therefore, the languages used were Mandarin and Taiwanese in the investigations, and the conversations have been fully transcribed and mostly translated into English (see Appendix 2). Moreover, I reviewed the filmed observations and captured the images to illustrate the practices of participants in support of theoretical framework. After transcribing, it is important to mark data that addresses the research questions, which is the process of coding data.

#### *4.5.2 Coding data and finding themes*

As soon as the raw data of interviews had been converted into narrative texts, I read the contents repeatedly, checking the accuracy such as typing errors and misspellings. For further analysis, I made summaries to help with examining commonalities, differences, and relationships from all transcripts. The summarising process included the following steps: (1) Identifying which sections of transcripts were most relevant to the research questions; (2) Eliminating repetitive information of transcripts, if there was any; (3) Deciding important statements for coding and finding themes (Harding, 2013: 56-57). “Coding is a way to indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of thematic idea about it” (Gibbs, 2007: 38), and is a process of reducing the data into smaller groupings so that they are more manageable and is easier to see relationships between these categories and patterns of



interaction (Insite, 2007: 5).

Although using qualitative analysis software (e.g. NVivo) is common with electronic text files, I actually used a paper-based approach to code the data only, which allowed me to be more creative, flexible, and have easier access to transcripts. Furthermore, I retrieved the coded texts and marked segments of data with descriptive words, or category names into meaningful segments, to combine all examples of the same phenomenon, idea, explanation or activity. This way of organising the data enabled me to examine the data in a structured way (Gibbs, 2007: 39-40; Akinyoade, 2013: 9).

Finding themes and wondering what was involved in themes enabled me to begin the analysis of potential codes. Therefore, I had a list of themes and focused on broader patterns in the data, combining coded data with proposed themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 96). For example, I defined certain terms (e.g. intangible heritage, performance, training, cultural policy) to code the data and identify and classify information into five main themes. These five themes contain sub-themes for further analysis. In addition to comprehending how participants responded to interview questions, I integrated responses under the themes and brought about relevant issues and further discourses to interpret the data and establish relationships between codes and themes at different levels.

#### 4.6 LIMITATIONS

The research topic is about intangible heritage in the performing arts in Taiwan; however, the investigations involving interviews and observations were taken mainly in the Kaohsiung area on the grounds of available time and budgets. This might not represent every circumstance existing in different cities or counties in Taiwan. The findings can only reason and establish theories from specific to general through the participants' conceptual perspectives rather than comparing the similarities and dissimilarities of implementation between various areas.

In interviews, many participants did not have a clear understanding of 'intangible heritage'. They could not discuss further their perspectives on the term. Accordingly, I tried to imbue them with such a new idea and speculated about their definitions from their talks and expressions to generalise conclusions. This might result in guiding or distorting aspects and subjective interpretations. In addition, such inductive arguments take a limited amount of data to provide a universal conclusion, which could provide a whole picture in some aspects.

For transcribing, it is preferable to draw on non-verbal expressions and verbal discussions to bring about a deeper understanding of the points of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 94). Nevertheless, most transcripts of investigations only captured the spoken aspects of the interviews and did not emphasise the body languages and 'feel' of the participants (Gibbs, 2007: 11). As mentioned, they used Mandarin and Taiwanese as the main languages of the

interviews, and very few of them spoke in grammatical prose. Further, regarding the literature review on theme operas, Taiwan Opera and Hand Puppetry, there are insufficient English publications, so documentary research was based on translations, as well. After translating into English, the meanings might not be completely accurate.

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

This thesis includes 9 research phases: (1) Identifying a research topic; (2) Literature review; (3) Formulation of research questions; (4) Determining of research methods; (5) Selecting a research sample; (6) Consideration of ethical issues; (7) Data collection; (8) Data analysis; (9) Writing up of research. In addition to identifying a research topic of interest, it was crucial to decide the research questions, which takes into account of certain features, such as feasibility, interest, novelty, ethics, and relevance. In addition, interviews, non-participant observations, and documentary research were selected as research methods for this study to respond to the research questions. In particular, semi-structured or unstructured interviews were conducted as part of the qualitative research.

When selecting the 23 participants for the fieldwork, purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used to collect the primary data. After collecting the data, inductive reasoning was used as the broad approach to analyse the data, because there were no pre-determined

theories at the beginning. For ease of analysis, transcribing was the initial step to prepare the data. With coding and finding themes, information can be filtered and allowed to emerge in a structured way for further interpretation. However, the number of samples was limited and language expressions might lead to some differences by virtue of translation. Participants' comprehension might influence the qualitative analysis as well, if those are somewhat neglected. These factors might be further limitations of this study.

In Chapter 5, the international and individual definitions and perceptions will be addressed. Documentary research was used to review international discussions on the issues, and existing official and academic perspectives on intangible heritage in Taiwan. Additionally, the qualitative interviews were used to understand the views and attitudes of practitioners and administrators towards intangible heritage in the performing arts.

In Chapter 6, the key issues are the practices of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry from the past up to the present. Before discussing the investigations, it is essential to understand their histories and development using documentary research on the subjects. Thereafter, the qualitative interviews will go deeper into the experiences of the participants, of what they are doing and what they expect to do. In addition to the descriptive content of their responses, non-participant observations will also help to illustrate and demonstrate visible images, properties, and events (e.g. staging, rehearsals, performances).

Likewise, the same methods will be applied in Chapter 7. Through qualitative interviews with practitioners, they may reflect their current problems with existence and continuity. In theory, they may also share the views on the transmission of traditions, cultures, and arts as being intangible heritage. By following their activities (e.g. training courses, workshops, and symposiums), non-participant observations helped me understand their practical efforts to pass on the skills and artistry of performing arts.

The political administration and implementation of safeguarding intangible heritage is the leading issue in Chapter 8. The significance of the documentary research here is to examine the laws and regulations now in force, and investigate the advantages and disadvantages of policymaking in Taiwan. Qualitative interviews provide opportunities to contrast the views of practitioners with those of officials on treating intangible heritage in performing arts. All methods used in this study not only focus on the proposed research questions but also comprehensively examine the phenomena and ecology in the field for further discussions in Chapter 9, and to highlight what is important and what could be avenues of possible future research in theatre and heritage studies in Chapter 10.

## CHAPTER 5

### MULTIPLE INTERPRETATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been certain conservation guidelines of heritage adopted by international organisations (e.g. UNESCO and ICOMOS). Since the Venice Charter by ICOMOS in 1964, the definition of heritage has been from ‘historic monument’, ‘monuments and sites’ by ICOMOS in 1965, ‘moveable museum collections and immovable architectural heritage’ by UNESCO in 1968, ‘cultural heritage and natural heritage’ by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention 1972 to ‘monument, group of buildings, and sites’ by ICOMOS in 1978, and heritage was introduced by the Burra Charter 1979, which included place, cultural significance, and fabric (Ahmad, 2006). The ICOMOS Washington Charter 1987 “recognises both tangible and intangible values as the object of protection”. In 2001, UNESCO declared a list of nineteen oral and immaterial heritage objects (Vecco, 2010).

During the past decades, Western measurements of heritage, particularly in Europe, led to international evaluations of heritage as an image of culture, stability, and modernity over other cultural expressions (Deacon et al., 2004). These evolutions demonstrate the concept of heritage evaluated from tangible monuments, collections, and buildings to intangible forms of

heritage, such as spaces and meanings. However, different regions have no identical standard terminology of heritage (Ahmad, 2006). In this chapter, Section 5.2 will firstly outline the definitions of intangible heritage among international communities to perceive the contrast between UNESCO and certain countries. In particular, Section 5.2.3 will indicate what intangible heritage is in Taiwan and illustrate the relevance of Taiwan's inventory to other models (e.g. UNESCO, Japan). Furthermore, through the investigation of practitioners of traditional performing arts in Taiwan, their awareness and recognition will attach the meaning of intangible heritage as a global reference.

## 5.2 INTERNATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

### *5.2.1 Regional recognitions*

In terms of safeguarding intangible heritage, the Government of Japan took up the running to designate certain bearers of important intangible cultural assets as living national treasures in 1950. Meanwhile, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties that involves both tangible and intangible heritage was enacted (UNESCO, 2012f). This law classifies intangible heritage into three categories (Saito, 2005: 2) as follows:

1. Intangible Cultural Properties: cultural properties that do not have a concrete form such as theatre, music and craft techniques that have historical or artistic value for the country, denoting 'skills and crafts' that have handed down by people through the generations.

2. Intangible Folk-Cultural Properties: folk traditions and practices, folk performance arts as well as folk craft techniques, related to food, clothing, and housing, way of life, religious beliefs, annual festivals and events, etc.
3. Conservation Techniques for Cultural Properties: traditional skills and crafts that are essential in preserving cultural properties and that require action for their preservation.

In 1962, the Government of Republic of Korea enacted the Cultural Properties Protection Act which stipulates the protection and designation of holders of Important Intangible Cultural Properties - “holders (‘poyuja’) of an Important Intangible Cultural Property are individuals or organisations who enact Intangible Cultural Properties with noteworthy historic, artistic or academic value”; hereupon proposing to UNESCO to establish national systems of ‘Living Human Treasures’ in 1993 (UNESCO, 2012d). Aside from the National Living Treasure in Republic of Korea and Holder of an Important Intangible Cultural Property in both Japan and Republic of Korea, there have been synonymous titles in different regions, which are defined in their regulations (e.g. Bearer of Popular Craft Tradition in Czech Republic, Master of Art in France, Manlilikha ng Bayan in Philippine; National Artists in Thailand) (MOC, 2003b; UNESCO, 2011). Taking another instance, ‘Bearer of Popular Craft Tradition’ was entailed by the Minister of Culture of Czech Republic and was legalized in the government order of 2003 as those “who practice traditional popular crafts. It is a recognition of skills, knowledge of processes and technologies, as well as of efforts in maintaining them, presenting them to the public and transmitting them to future generations” (UNESCO, 2012a).



### *5.2.2 Definition of UNESCO 2003 Convention*

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines intangible heritage as being “the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognise as being part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2009f: 4). The Convention provides living expressions in the following domains (UNESCO, 2009a):

1. Oral traditions and expressions, including language, as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage, such as “proverbs, riddles, tales, nursery rhymes, legends, myths, epic songs and poems, charms, prayers, chants, songs, dramatic performances” (UNESCO, 2009g: 4).
2. Performing arts such as vocal and instrumental music, dance and theatre, pantomime and sung verse.
3. Social practices, rituals and festive events such as “worship rites; rites of passage; birth, wedding and funeral rituals; oaths of allegiance; traditional legal systems; traditional games and sports; kinship and ritual kinship ceremonies; settlement patterns; culinary traditions; seasonal ceremonies; practices specific to men or women only; hunting, fishing and gathering practices; special gestures and words, recitations, songs or dances, special clothing, processions, animal sacrifice, special food” (p. 11).

4. Knowledge and practice about nature and the universe, including “knowledge, knowhow, skills, practices and representations developed by communities by interacting with the natural environment” such as “traditional ecological wisdom, indigenous knowledge, knowledge about local fauna and flora, traditional healing systems, rituals, beliefs, initiatory rites, cosmologies, shamanism, possession rites, social organisations, festivals, languages and visual arts” (p. 12).
5. Traditional craftsmanship such as “tools; clothing and jewellery; costumes and props for festivals and performing arts; storage containers, objects used for storage, transport and shelter; decorative art and ritual objects; musical instruments and household utensils, and toys, both for amusement and education” (p. 14).

### 5.3 INTANGIBLE HERTIAGE IN TAIWAN

#### *5.3.1 Recognitions and inventories of authorities*

In Taiwan, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act stipulates the preservation, maintenance and promotion of cultural heritage. In this act, there are seven categories of cultural heritage: Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements; Historical Sites; Cultural Landscapes; Traditional Arts; Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts; Antiquities; Natural Landscapes. However, there is no term ‘intangible heritage’ legitimised in this Act. In recent

years, with the dissemination of intangible heritage by UNESCO, Taiwan has adopted this new concept. The central competent authority begun to orientate the tendency and would invite scholars to participate in the work of designating and preserving intangible heritage. Although Taiwan is not a UNESCO member state, the government tends to refer to UNESCO's system. The government and academia acknowledge UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage as being natural and right without any argument. There has been no voice in Taiwan to challenge UNESCO's concept yet. Inasmuch as the term 'intangible heritage' has not been enacted in Taiwan's law, the competent authorities seek to establish a connection between Taiwan's regulations and UNESCO's category of intangible heritage. For further implementation, the central competent authority has begun to designate Traditional Art and establish an intangible heritage group to be responsible for the relevant administrative affairs.

The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act defines that Traditional Arts is "traditional crafts and skills descended from different ethnic groups and locales, and can be categorised into traditional arts and crafts and the performing arts" (HACH, 2009). Traditional Arts and Crafts includes knitting, embroidery, ceramics, kiln arts, jade carving, carpentry, lacquer, parapet, tile-roofing art, cut-paste art, sculpture, coloured drawing, mount, papermaking, rubbing, pen and ink making, gold-silversmith, etc.<sup>1</sup> Performing Arts includes traditional opera, music,

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<sup>1</sup> Article 5, Taiwan - Enforcement rules of cultural heritage preservation

ballads, dance, story-telling and singing, acrobatics, etc.<sup>2</sup> Hence, Taiwan's definition of Traditional Arts can comprise 'performing arts' under UNESCO's conception of intangible heritage. In addition, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts involves customs (e.g. birth, adulthood, marriage, funerals, diet, housing, clothing, fishing and hunting, farming, clans, habits, etc.),<sup>3</sup> beliefs (e.g. religious sects, gods, myths, legends, gods, idols, rituals and ceremony, etc.)<sup>4</sup>, festivals (e.g. the Lunar New Year, Lantern Festival, Tomb Sweeping Day, Dragon Boat Festival, Ghosts' Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, Double Ninth Festival, the winter solstice and other solar terms)<sup>5</sup> or any other related cultural artifacts which are related to tradition and has special cultural meaning, which is included under UNESCO's definition as 'social practices, rituals and festive events'.

Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers is mentioned in the Act. However, there is no any specific statement upon the qualification of preservation skills or preservers; these concepts derive from Japan's provision of the 'conservation of cultural properties' - "the holder or holders of the traditional conservation technique concerned who represent the high standard of such technique, or its preservation body or bodies (including juridical persons) which primarily aim at the preservation of such technique and have their representatives or managers established by their own statutes" (NRICPT, 2007). Traditional conservation

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Article 6, Taiwan - Enforcement rules of cultural heritage preservation

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

techniques engaged in the restoration of cultural heritage, the skills being provided to preserve, are valued for their artistry (Saito, 2005: 3). Likewise, preservers with preservation skills are individuals or organisations who process noteworthy historic, artistic or academic value, being in the midst of the processes of transmission with cumulative knowledge and wisdom with developed practices as well as the capabilities to maintain and repair cultural heritage.

As already stated, Taiwan's definition of intangible heritage is influenced by Japan to a high degree. Fig. 5.1 illustrates the relation of Taiwanese, Japanese and UNESCO's inventories of intangible heritage as follows:

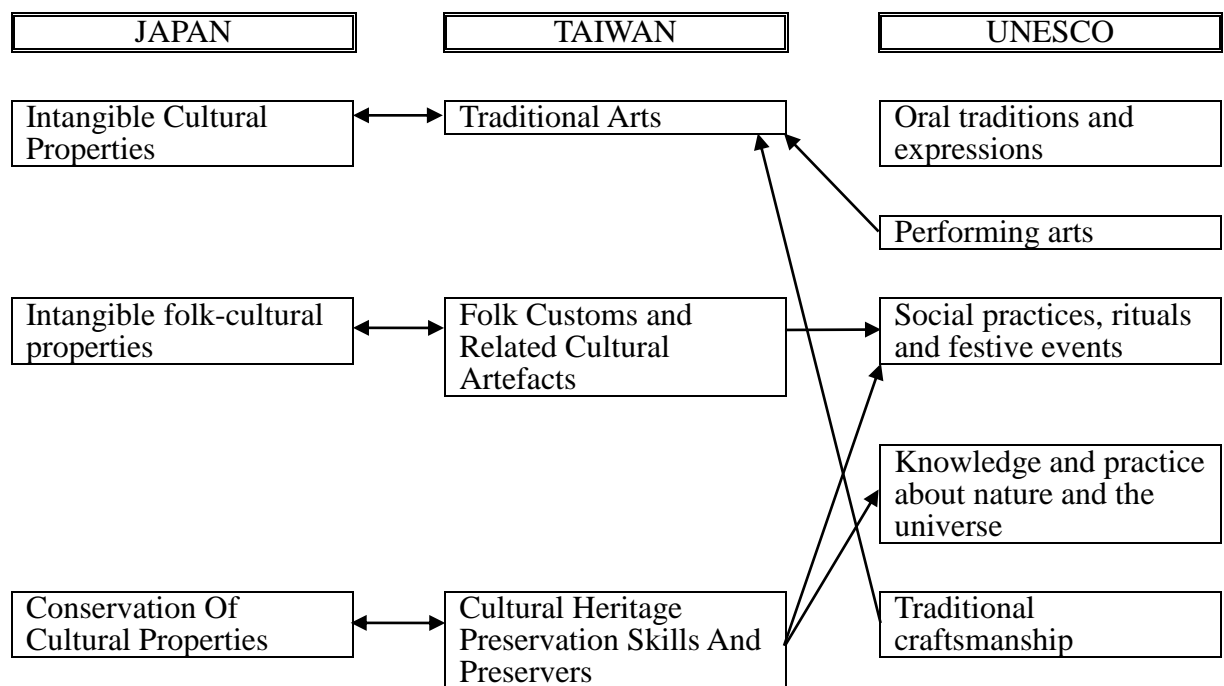


Figure 5.1 Relation of Taiwan, Japan and UNESCO's inventories of intangible heritage

Moreover, each intangible heritage can include various elements from multiple inventories (see also UNESCO, 2009d). For instance, in the performances of Taiwanese Opera, language and literature and the beauty of the rhetoric deserve praise, appreciation and promotion, particularly when they become too estranged for people to apply and understand.

If people try to find the most classic lines in Taiwanese Opera, I personally recommend the play ‘Chen San and Wu Niang’. Its rhyming is very elegant rhymes and commendable. In Taiwanese the lines arranged for the opera, there are numerous slang words rarely heard now. Those wordings were often heard in the times of my grandmother. However, we can rarely hear at the moment. Those are really typical uses of Taiwanese dialect.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

Taiwanese Opera belong to Traditional Arts involved in the area of ‘performing arts’. Yet, the performances also include music, costumes, stage properties, storytelling, etc., which are relevant to other domains as well. In addition, there will be probably new elements added to the performances. Therefore, current inventories are not fixed and needed to be updated regularly, as intangible heritage is inclusive and changing constantly and quickly (UNESO, 2009b).

### *5.3.2 Individual perspectives of intangible heritage*

Referring to certain participants’ responses, they have recognised intangible heritage since they applied for subsidies and had to meet bureaucratic requirements. Actually, most of

troupes and artists used to look upon ‘tradition’, ‘traditional culture’, ‘cultural assets’, ‘creativity’, ‘talent skills’, ‘experiences and qualifications’ as their belongings and intangible value (TO04, Female, Staff/Performer; TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). Accordingly, when speaking of intangible heritage, different positions have various identities (Table 5.1).

<b>Cultural heritage preservation act</b>	<b>Competent authorities</b>	<b>Practitioners of traditional arts</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Arts</li> <li>• Folk Customs And Related Cultural Artefacts</li> <li>• Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills And Preservers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Arts</li> <li>• Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts</li> <li>• Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers</li> <li>• Intangible heritage</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tradition</li> <li>• Traditional culture</li> <li>• Cultural assets</li> <li>• Creativity</li> <li>• Talent skills</li> <li>• Experiences and qualifications</li> </ul>

Table 5.1 Terms used as intangible heritage

Respondents implementing related affairs in the public sector provided explanations of intangible heritage:

As far as I am concerned, intangible heritage are divided into two parts: Traditional Arts and Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts. In addition, the designation of intangible heritage is based on its seniority rather than its age. For example, we have just registered an artist who is highly proficient in puppet sculptures. He is just 50 something; yet, he has 30 more years of experience in his field.

(OA02, Female, Official Administrator)

In my opinion, intangible heritage means a life style led by a group of people in a specific place. There are numerous matters accumulated in our surroundings. However, intangible heritage shall never require a long history. Even if something valued is happening at this very moment, it can be intangible heritage. Actually, culture is all-embracing, and it is never concerned with arts only. However, most people regard arts or monuments as cultural heritage.

(OA01, Male, Official Administrator)

From their views, intangible heritage is deemed to be competent rather than being old, which manifests the unique attribute of a place processing natures of locality and distinctiveness. Cultural identity originates from the intrinsic values in society through individual perspectives (Lowenthal, 1985) according to experiences and memories (Pennington-Grey & Carmichael, 2006; McDowell, 2008). Inhabitants in a particular region identify themselves sensibly or insensibly with essential links to the community and heritage (Flooren & Juritsjeva, 2010), bringing about a manner of how people recollect the past and its importance in creating their regional identities (Brett, 1996; Macdonald, 2006). Therefore, intangible heritage remains the memory of history and a figure of identity. The past is significant, and although originating from a particular time, however, not operating primarily as linear time (Hartog, 2005). It appears that the concept of intangible heritage is somewhat artistic and historical in communities. “Intangible cultural heritage is not just the memory of past cultures, but is also a laboratory for inventing the future” (WIPO, 2006: 104). If current



human achievements can be continued into the future, those may be regarded as intangible cultural heritage. One of participants responded to this sense:

Human is part of intangible heritage. For example, our troupe is a 10 years old. 50 years later, if this troupe still exists and it will be a treasure.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

Although intangible heritage is a carrier of an abundant and unique cultural memory, memory is easily ignored and also extremely liable to disappear unwittingly, revealing its fragility (Li, 2007). However, intangible does not always mean fragile, and it is also flexible, unlike material heritage which can be damaged in existence easily (Skounti, 2009). Accordingly, authenticity is much in reference to the tangibility of heritage in the main (Jokilehto, 2006). Ucko (2000) argues that there is nothing in the completely same situation as it was before past; only through the interpretations of the subject can deduce what happened in the past. Authenticity is a comparative value rather than an absolute standard (McBride, 1997). It will alter with different meanings at different times to reduce the damage to heritage to a greater extent (Orphal, 2000). As stated in Chapter 2, intangible heritage has to lay down parts of the past to be continuous and living in a changing environment (Skounti, 2009). During the process, living heritage naturally accumulates knowledge and experience while understanding the environment.

Examples of performing arts as living heritage that reveal the self-identity of practitioners are as follows:

Numerous scholars and officers gained information about Taiwan Opera. They usually ask my advice when there are any relevant activities.

(TO01, Male, Head of Troupe)

In Kaohsiung, I am the only artist of my generation left in the field of Hand Puppetry. Some other performers have quit or passed away. Supposedly, there are few practitioners knowing very well about the ecology of indoor-stage and outdoor-stage performances. However, there would be no one sharing related knowledge after I died.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

These senses tell that the practitioners are experienced and knowledge-based preservers and transmitters of performing arts, meeting the condition of artistic and historic value. Although they have not defined themselves as intangible heritage, they believe they have an intangible knowledge when they are 'living'. However, the following responses provide a different value.

I am confident of my skills of being a vocal leader. In case of performing Hand Puppetry on the stages, I can be charge of broadcasting to tell stories and make incomes, which means I have great skills to do many jobs.

(HP02, Male, Head of Troupe)

I am definitely an asset because I have skills. However, the central authority does not

pay attention to the small troupe like us. We must be self-supporting and challenge the environment with innovation and changes.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

Accordingly, the practitioners assumed that they have great assets. Yet, the term ‘asset’ mentioned here means the abilities of performing and increasing incomes to improve their economic condition, rather than being preserved and transmitted as ‘heritage’.

Moreover, both intangible heritage and cultural creative industries are often discussed, but there is a vague definition in their intersection and overlap. One of participants shared an administrative view here:

Regarding intangible cultural heritage, we focus on its preservation. For cultural creativity industries, we develop the innovation and reutilisation of traditional elements.

(OA02, Female, Official Administrator)

In brief, safeguarding intangible heritage continues its traditional arts and crafts and increases contemporary creativity. Referring to the cultural creative industries, it is vital to recreate traditions as well as invention, and leading in commercial values.

Our troupe head always has the courage to innovate. She supposes that if we insist on playing traditional Taiwanese Opera, it is unlikely to keep pace with the times. It is better to take traditional factors into consideration when we create new elements.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

In this case, in either of them, tradition and innovation are not conflict but can be in harmonious coexistence.

## 5.4 NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

### *5.4.1 Historical accumulations of human practices*

Intangible heritage is the intercultural expression all over the world. All human accomplishments originate from intangible heritage while influencing people to create culture and tangible heritage, processing the creative significance in different generations. In addition, most intangible heritage is the procedure of historical experiences in the community, which is influenced by other cultures. This historical process generates the connection and value between separate cultures that adds value and meaning beyond the entirety of cultural parts (Arizpe, 2004). Intangible heritage is living culture which has the advantage to refer to people's practices, being given a new life by descendants (Van Zanten, 2004).

Inasmuch as practitioners are living heritage, their vitality demonstrate that intangible heritage is exhibited and transmitted to the carriers through human activities, which is emphasised with human values, dynamic spirits, consummate techniques, and originality. However, the task to sustain intangible heritage is distinguished from collecting those cultural

artefacts in a solid state (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). Therefore, intangible culture presents dynamic forms by nature, which mainly depends on how its living carriers achieve and express in movement (Van Zanten, 2004), which is the basis of community, being created, employed, and transmitted through the historical process (Yang, 2004).

#### *5.4.2 Regional and national identity*

In terms of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, they have spread from their original regions (see Chapter 6), and they can be transmitted because of their mobility and dynamics. Although these traditions were influenced by other operas, they were not the result of in assimilation but a manifesting of their characteristics. To some extent, the nature of intangible heritage is related to a sense of authenticity from its history; but authenticity is a comparative concept (Gordon, 2004), whereas intangible heritage is usually regarded as the expression of art and culture, representing people's creation in that particular community. In addition, intangible heritage reflects its own achievements which are characteristic, and the impression of a community denotes its nationality. Thoughts, emotion, consciousness and values are indirectly embodied in intangible heritage and are difficult to be replaced entirely. Accordingly, every national culture contains unique traditional factors, cultural genes, and national memory. Without those elements, nationality would lose its own features and motives, and that vitality of intangible heritage involves peoples' particular intelligence and

valuable spirits, which are the lifeblood and fountainhead in society (Li, 2007).

## 5.5 APPRECIATION AND PROMOTION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Intangible heritage is provided with abundant resources and notions in support of development, and memory of cultural identity continually satisfying. Cultural identity establishes the communication of individuals within their society (Civallero, 2008). In the event that there is no transmission, intangible heritage will be impaired. Therefore, safeguarding takes on the educational functions of reformation (Yang, 2004).

UNESCO has launched recognition and dissemination towards the 2003 Convention. However, “only governments from States Parties to the Convention can nominate intangible cultural heritage elements for the Committee to consider” (UNESCO, 2009e: 6). What are the inter-related themes of the promotion of intangible heritage in Taiwan, regardless of international support? This section will discuss the issue from aspects of education, value, and tourism.

### *5.5.1 Aesthetic education*

In Taiwan’s education system, students develop their knowledge and skills more than aesthetic sensibilities. Arts education mainly signifies Fine Arts and narrowly focuses on drawing and painting (OA01, Male, Official Administrator). Most arts programmes are not

based on an aesthetic. The term 'aesthetic' is defined by the dictionary as the study of the mind and emotions in relation to a sense of beauty. True art is worthy and can inspire an aesthetic response with its own enjoyment and pleasure (Joyce, 1916: 205; Goodkin, 2003). In this respect, how to be aesthetic? It might be part of nature, but it can be developed or enhanced in a methodical system. Therefore, aesthetic education plays a significant role in the community for an aesthetic direction. Aesthetic education can teach people to "become sensitized to reason, beauty, and excellence as they relate to human feeling". In addition, "the quintessence of aesthetics is insight into the nature of human feeling that has been captured and embodied in a work of art" (Smith, 1984: 40). It does not dictate what to do, but is a way of being, sensing, feeling, and thinking, responding to the intangibility of arts and beauty that cannot be taught and not classified in terms of systematic standards (Goodkin, 2003).

Inasmuch as aesthetic sense is subjective in some aspects, this sense expresses cultural diversity - different groups in their regions have distinct values and contexts of culture and arts. For example, In Europe and North America, aesthetic education emphasises identity and skills in interpersonal relationships, creativity, and artistic language. In Asian regions, the arts were deemed to be integral to daily life, and the education system has formed a traditional master-apprentice system for physical, sensory, emotional, and cognitive development of creative skills, harmonious balance, love of beauty, etc. In addition, western models are seen

in this system. In Muslim countries, aesthetic education has been a priority at different levels in schools, from primary education though to higher education, to develop a student's taste and abilities in expression as basic preparation for a future career in the visual arts, performing arts, music, culture, communications, printing, etc. In Latin America, aesthetic education begins to broaden a child's world view with creativity in primary schools. Furthermore, it helps them to understand life and communications and to approach visual arts. Therefore, the broader aesthetic education helps them to understand and appreciate the coexistence of different arts and cross-cultural background knowledge within local and global communities (Amadio et al., 2006: 12-14). We can contrast how various groups defined intangible heritage in their regions to emphasise their cultural and artistry values. Aesthetic education, as a whole, aims to pass on cultural heritage to the younger generations to recreate their own culture and arts, which are essential to be experienced, appreciated, and promoted. Of course, this is an on-going process of cultivation.

#### *5.5.2 Tourism of interest*

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the 'Edinburgh International Festival', that promotes performing arts in the world, which was the first of its kind and has lasted for over 60 years since 1947 (EIF, 2012a). The Edinburgh International Festival attracts huge crowds of tourists and performers every year in summer, which not only showcases of Scottish culture but also



offers an intercultural stage to share cultures (EIFI, 2012b).

We were invited to perform Hand Puppetry at the Edinburgh International Festival.  
That was great opportunities to show foreigners Taiwanese performing arts.

(HP06, Male, Puppeteer)

There is also Tomar, a city known for the Templars; in particular, the Convent of Christ (Convento de Cristo e Castelo Templário) is a unique historical monument built in the twelfth century (TDP, 2008b), and it has been included on the World Heritage list since 1983 (TDP, 2008a). Tomar's Festival of the Trays (Festa dos Tabuleiros), "a procession of white-clad 'virgins' carrying headdresses made of bread loaves", is held every four years in July. "Their origin is associated with the cult of the Holy Spirit" (TDP, 2008b). During the festival period, Tomar throngs with thousands and thousands of tourists.

Within the festival, the tourists can either have an enjoyable experience or socialise. Through translating places, stories, and social practices to build tourism commodities, intangible culture is made visible (Picard & Robinson, 2006: 12). Local culture and traditions in international tourism have become transmitters, establishing relationships with the global (Doumenge, 1984; Guss, 2000; Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1992; Picard & Robinson, 2006: 15). It is prosperous to introduce and popularise daily culture through material objects, art craft, oral traditions, music, landscape, etc., as modernisation (Picard, 2003; Picard & Robinson,

2006:16). This sense also echoes with intangible culture as manifested in tangible forms and products (Van Zanten, 2004). Tangible heritage is usually the carrier of intangible heritage, in order to deliver and share (Skounti, 2009).

Halbertsma (2011) provides a view of 'heritage theatre', "which encompasses presentation, public and performance, is part of a world-wide dynamic in such domains as political relations, economics, communication, and transport" (p. 2). The diversity of the human condition, specificity, and memory offer historical and contemporary experiences in the heritage theatre. An official interviewee offered his observation about Taiwan's actualities to respond to this sense:

When we are promoting cultural affairs, there are few audiences because Taiwan is a construction of domestic demanding market in tourism; unlike foreign theatres, they have external demanding markets with numerous international tourists.

(OA01, Male, Official Administrator)

Accordingly, heritage depends on its tourist audiences with international and intercultural tourism of interest. The promotion of intangible heritage is not only working in the processes of cultural, social, economic, and leisure practices (Smith, 2006: 13) but also implements political actions.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

Heritage is something that is valued and expected to be transmitted to the next generation with a cultural continuity and cultural identity which is constantly changing, as well as referring to cultural diversity and human creativity. The term 'heritage' has been transferred with its traditional, chronological and territorial notions of materiality to a contemporary, non-chronological, and inclusive concept of immateriality, objective through subjective perceptions. Intangible heritage is a historical process of inheriting knowledge and skills from ancestors to new generations, a living and coexisting evolution of tradition and innovation.

Intangible heritage is fervently discussed in international communities and mostly recognised by the definition of the UNESCO 2003 Convention. In theory, Taiwan has adopted the inventory of UNESCO; in practice, however, Taiwan's authorities consider intangible heritage to include Traditional Arts; Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts; and Cultural Heritage Preservation, although the term 'intangible heritage' is not itself enacted in Taiwan's law. Referring to intangible heritage in performing arts, certain practitioners deem 'heritage' to be a foundation to build relations between traditions, innovations, and economy. Moreover, intangible heritage processes artistic historical value and provides a characteristic identity in different regions.

In addition to understanding what intangible heritage is, appreciation of intangible

heritage requires audiences with an authentic sense and respectful attitudes. The following chapter will demonstrate practices of intangible heritage in the performing arts to lead us to learn more about Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry through historical views and to examine their ecology in modern society.

## CHAPTER 6

### PRACTICE OF TAIWANESE OPERA AND HAND PUPPETRY

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will firstly examine the evolution of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry in addition to their types of performance, after which the elements of these two performing arts will be illustrated and contrasted according to their characters, costumes, plots, and music. The latter two sections will contain a debate about the faith, taboos and limitations of such traditional operas, and finally, the membership and operation of practitioners will be demonstrated as examples of the organisational management of the troupes.

#### 6.2 TYPES OF TAIWANESE OPERA

Taiwanese Opera originated in the Yilan region of North-eastern Taiwan (Yang, 2002: 54), and this section illustrates the various manifestations of Taiwanese Opera by examining its different stages as follows:

##### *6.2.1 Luodisao*

The most primitive form of Taiwanese Opera was a blend of 'Jin Ge', 'Cai Cha', and 'Che Gu' (Chen & Gu, 1955). 'Jin Ge' is an alias of 'Gua-ah', derived from Zhangzhou in China

and categorised as a sort of folk ditty. The performers normally sing and sit in a regular venue. Every passage of its popular lyrics has four verses with five or seven characters (Yang, 2002: 35). 'Cai Cha' denotes tea picking, and this opera was widely prevalent in Hakka villages. Its performances were simple and impromptu, and the performers enjoyed making comic gestures and remarks. In addition, the stories usually related to love affairs, and the players consisted of a clown (Chou) and a female leading role (Dan), or two male leading roles (Shengs) and a Dan (Hsueh, 2003: 171). 'Che Gu' literally means 'Cart Drum', which was an opera usually co-played with singing and dancing by two or three performers, commonly the clown (Chou) and the female leading role (Dan). The style of the stories tended to be teasing and amusing (Yang, 2002: 41, 49-50).

'Luodisao', which signifies 'ground sweeping', was influenced by 'Che Gu' in terms of posture. The manner of performing 'Luodisao' was movable and impromptu, and it was commonly seen from the 1880s onwards (Kuo, 2003: 58). The performers acted in the streets rather than on the stage, and because their clothes dragged along the ground while they were performing, they were likened to ground sweepers, as denoted by the name (also see Cheng, 2001: 49). However, another argument is that 'luodi' means that the performers grounded the props before the show, and 'sao' implies that they swept the area before playing. The performers would stop and play in a square bordered with four bamboo poles if more viewers

surrounded them (Hsu, 2001a: 403). Due to that the performances were on the spot and not for very long, and they usually played part of a plot, such as ‘Liu San’ (Leaving Behind the Umbrella) of ‘Chen San and Wu Niang’, the ‘Shi Ba Xiang Song’ (Eighteen Mile Send-off) of ‘Shan-Bo and Ying-Tai’ (Butterfly Lovers) (Hsueh, 2003: 351).

#### *6.2.2 Old Gua-ah*

Inasmuch as the performers of ‘Luodisao’ used to playing movably, they attempted to seek a fixed venue. In the 1910s, they began to take advantage by staging ‘Si Ping Opera’ and played the entire plot. Meantime, Luodisao performers received great acclaim from viewers (Lin, 2000: 9). The Taiwanese ‘Si Ping Opera’ was reputed to have come from South Fujian in China, and the performances tended to be martial and clamorous, mainly spread through the Hakka religion. The ‘Si Ping Opera’ began to wane in the 1960s, thus most performers joined other troupes of Hakka operas (Hsu, 2001b), and residents in Yilan named this form of opera ‘Old Gua-ah’ or ‘Local Gua-ah’ (Tseng, 1988: 46). Because the performers were all male rural peasants, they had to cross-cast female roles. Cross-dressing was one of the characteristics of ‘Old Gua-ah’. The actors sometimes disguised themselves to look ungainly to please the audience (Yang, 2002: 61). When they played, they sang the lines rather than spoke them, and some performers liked to add an expletive, such as ‘Ah’ or ‘La’ into certain verses, and end the song with a glide-like sigh (Lu, 2003: 472). This sense was also noted by

one of interviewees:

Groups of ‘Old Gua-ah’ were formed by rural males, and men were portraying the female roles since there were no female performers at that time. The arias and postures of the performers were fairly competent. However, ‘Old Gua-ah’ had evolved from ‘Luodisao’, whose performers lacked creativity because they always mimicked some actions of others; for example, they might follow Taoist priests and swing bells.

(TO01, Male, Head of Troupe)

It is worth noting that ‘Chen San and Wu Niang’, ‘Shan-Bo and Ying-Tai’ (Butterfly Lovers), ‘Lu Meng-Zheng’ and ‘Shi Xi Ji’ (The Groceries Story) are deemed to be the four most famous repertoires of Taiwanese Opera at that time (Hsu, 1992: 21; Yang, 2002: 62). These four stories most touch audiences, particularly female members, and are generally acknowledged to be a ‘must-learn.’ This recognition was confirmed by a senior artist of Taiwanese Opera:

When I was a trainee, the four most well-known plays of Taiwanese Opera, ‘Shan-Bo and Ying-Tai’, ‘Chen San and Wu Niang’, ‘Shi Xi Ji’ and ‘Lu Meng-Zheng’, were our obligatory subjects.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

### *6.2.3 Outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera*

In general, there were over three hundred types of traditional operas, which could be



classified as being either small-scale operas or full-scale operas. The operas developed from folk vaudeville, in which the performers spoke and sang, were called 'folk playlets' and were regarded as being small-scale operas. The performances possessed folk features with festive singing and dancing, and the performers probably only consisted of Chou and Dan or Dan, Chou and Sheng, which is why small-scale operas were also entitled 'dual-role operas' or 'triad operas'. Small-scale operas were flawed in that they were simple and lacked sufficient sense of theatre, while full-scale operas involved a broader range of characters, which could be played by Sheng, Dan, Jing, Mo, and Chou as a whole. The themes in these full-scale performances were much more extensive (Ma & Yu, 1983: 469). Thus, the progress of traditional opera involved the advance from small-scale to full-scale performances (Yu, 1990: 278).

When 'Old Gua-ah' went onto the stage, Taiwase Opera commenced its outdoor-stage age (Kuo, 2003: 61), and it is apparent that 'Old Gua-ah' remained a small-scale opera at this time. Prior to becoming a full-scale opera, it gradually adopted features of other traditional operas, which may have been because some instructors who imparted skills and ideas to those performers had other opera backgrounds (Yang: 2002: 68; TO01, Male, Head of Troupe). For instance, the performers continued to absorb the arias of 'Che-Gu' Opera (Hsu, 1992: 26) and the learning postures and 'Luo-Gu-Dian', an ensemble of percussion instruments (e.g. gongs

and drums), from Beijing Opera (Zhang, 2010: 70). They followed the scripts and scenery of Fuzhou Opera, using a series of episodes to take the place of every single playlet (Lu, 1961: 237). In addition, martial roles were partially added to performances rather than presenting the same suave plays (Yang, 2002: 68).

After the phase of indoor theatres declined because of the impact of new media, the performers returned to outdoor stages. They mainly performed at temple fairs and religious ceremonies. In addition, ‘Outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera’ was called the ‘Folk Taiwanese Opera’ or the ‘Wild-stage Taiwanese Opera’ (Kuo, 2003: 61; HP07, Male, Head of Troupe), although some people argued that the latter title was somewhat degrading and sounded barbaric. There were matinees and evening performances, with the ancient books plays (see Section 6.3.2) usually presented during the matinees, and OPERA (see Section 6.2.5) commonly seen in the evening performances (Lin, 2000: 25). Therefore, the audience could recollect the stories from historical novels and have fun watching a variation of them in a Taiwanese Opera (Lin, 2000: 29). This was also confirmed by one of the participants:

I would recommend people to see the matinees because the performances are rather traditional.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Moreover, Outdoor-Stage Taiwanese Opera had two forms of troupes: a ‘meaty sound’ (live

vocal) troupe and a recorded audio Taiwanese Opera troupe, which played cassettes. The ‘meaty vocal’ performances were impromptu, while the performers of the recorded audio troupe only followed the tempo of the cassette without considering arias and postures (Liu, 1999: 116-118).

#### *6.2.4 Indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera*

The literal meaning of indoor-stage performances is performances in indoor theatres. However, not all indoor theatre performances were called ‘indoor-stage’, but were defined as travelling performances in theatres for commercial purposes (Chiu, 2001: 29). When the performances of ‘Old Gua-ah’ went onto the stage, some theatre proprietors foresaw a commercial opportunity, and introduced ‘Old Gua-ah’ to indoor theatre stages. This meant that the amateur performances tended to become professional, and more and more troupes emerged as a result (Lu, 1961: 239). The first written record of Taiwanese Opera being played in an indoor theatre was in 1925 (Lin, 2000: 11) and, since that time, indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera experienced a golden age until the popularisation of television programmes in the 1970s (Kuo, 2003).

#### *6.2.5 New Drama and OPERA*

Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 at the end of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and from then until 1945, Taiwan was a Japanese colony (Lamley, 2007: 202). In September 1936,

the Japanese launched the Kominka movement, which was designed to completely assimilate the Taiwanese people with the Japanese (Chen & Tseng, 1995: 98), and in 1937, the Kominka policy instructed all troupes to use the Japanese language when performing in order to promote 'New Drama' to ignite the Japanese spirit (Chiu, 2011: 22). When the performers played a costume drama, they had to wear suits and kimonos rather than ancient costumes. In addition, the titles of the roles had to be changed; for example, the emperor became the 'chairman', the prime minister became the 'managing director', and members of the bureaucracy became 'office employees', which made the performances nondescript. In addition, many troupes were compelled to disband during this period (Chang, 1982: 9; Chen & Tseng, 1995: 102). At the end of the Second War in 1945, the Japanese were forced to withdraw from Taiwan, and various troupes were revived on indoor theatre stages. In fact, the number increased to more than 500 in the 1950s, and this led to a golden era of indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera which lasted until 1960 (Chen & Tseng, 1995: 114-117; Lin: 2003: 183). It is worth noting that Taiwanese Opera was influenced by 'New Drama' and formed 'O-Pe-La' (OPERA, an English word adopted by the Japanese) in 1949. This was a variant which integrated the features of Chinese opera and Jidaugeki (Japanese historical drama), as well as Western films. OPERA has become popular since 1968, particularly in the evening performances. OPERA is usually a tragicomedy, representing creative, exaggerative, romantic,

or family themes; therefore, it attracts a largely female audiences (Lin, 2000: 12; Kuo, 2003: 61; HP02, Male, Head of Troupe). The issue of gender will be discussed in Section 8.3.

#### *6.2.6 Radio Taiwanese Opera*

Because of the popularisation of radio, the sudden rise of films, and the downturn in theatre performances, Taiwanese Opera began to be broadcast in 1954 and reached its apex in 1960. As a result, some troupes of Radio Taiwanese Opera were formed during this period, although they contained no more than six people. It should be mentioned that one performer sometimes played multiple roles, so she needed to be proficient in adopting different voices for different characters. By virtue of being broadcast on air, the postures of Taiwanese Opera were not visible to the audience; yet, the performer would centre on her graceful and affecting arias and lines in order to satisfy the listeners. With the development and orientation of trends, the early tunes gradually became redundant, and Taiwanese and Chinese pop songs and new melodies were used to enrich the musical representation. This mass fervour continued until the emergence of TV Taiwanese Opera (Yang, 2002: 118-120).

#### *6.2.7 Taiwanese Opera Films*

The first successful film of Taiwanese Opera emerged in 1956, and many troupes were impatient to try it, which resulted in a trend. At that time, troupes put up the capital themselves, and film actors/actresses were members of the troupe. However, in 1960, troupe

proprietors began to seek to cooperate with film enterprises because of concerns about rising costs, and Taiwanese Opera troupes only organised the performances. Most troupes were multi-talented because they were able to perform simultaneously in films and theatres (Yang, 2002: 124-128). However, Taiwanese Opera Films became victims of the popularisation of television, other types of films, and vaudeville (Tseng, 1997; Kuo, 2003: 73), and the last Taiwanese Opera film was shown in cinemas in 1981 (Cheng, 2001: 51).

#### *6.2.8 TV Taiwanese Opera*

The first television station, Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), was established in 1962 (TTV, 2008), and Taiwanese Opera was introduced to television audiences. Because it was presented on TV, the appearance of the performers, the costumes, the scenery, and the stage setting were more resplendent and different from traditional Taiwanese Opera, but it was hard to see the skill of the performers in terms of arias and postures.

It is only possible for audiences to appreciate the faces of the performers on TV Taiwanese Opera; none of the good cut actions can be repeated. The postures cannot be seen as being natural. There is no requirement for a posture to pass the threshold and open the door as in normal life. Even if some performers of TV Taiwanese Opera are unable to sing the songs, they can follow the pre-recorded music and lip-sync.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

Nevertheless, TV Taiwanese Opera was still endowed with some important functions.

For example, since the performance was limited to showing performers' faces and singing on the television screen, the music needed to be richer or it was too monotonous. This meant that numerous tunes were newly arranged during the era of TV Taiwanese Opera, and numerous troupes learned to play the accompanying music. In fact, while certain artists had used vulgar language in their outdoor-stage performances as they did in their daily lives, the oral text in TV programmes had to be more abundant and elegant (TO06, Female Amateur/Teacher). In and around the 1990s, other TV series increased and took the place of TV Taiwanese Opera productions, and they gradually disappeared from the scene altogether after 1997 (Yang, 2001; Kuo, 2003: 77). The impact of new media will be further discussed in Section 8.4.2.

#### *6.2.9 Refined Taiwanese Opera*

With the recent changes in society and entertainment, numerous troupes have been downgraded, and in order to survive and meet market demand, they have inevitably been forced to confront the issue of innovation. Some Taiwanese Opera troupes want to attract a wider and more highbrow audience, while others endeavour to present performances of the 'Refined Taiwanese Opera' of the 1980s in theatres (Yang, 2002). The term 'Refined Taiwanese Opera' is defined as being cultural performances of Taiwanese Opera in art halls (e.g. concert halls, theatres, opera houses) (Tseng, 1993; Yang, 2002). Table 6.1 illustrates a chronology of the development of Taiwanese Opera by types as follows:

<b>Period</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Brief</b>
1880s - 1910s	Luodisao	The primitive form of Taiwanese Opera, which was moveable and impromptu. The performers usually played part of a plot.
1910s - 1920s	Old Gua-ah	Performers of Old Gua-ah advanced to playing the entire plot, and disguised themselves as ungainly in order to please the audience.
1910s - present	Outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera	The outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera was called 'Folk Taiwanese Opera' or 'Wild-stage Taiwanese Opera', which was mainly performed to greet the gods and thank them at religious fairs.
1925 - 1970s	Indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera	The indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera was defined as a performance in the theatre for commercial purposes.
1937 - 1945	New Drama	New Drama was the Japanised-Taiwanese Opera during the Japanese colonial period.
1949 - present	OPERA	OPERA was a variant of Chinese opera and Japanese historical drama, and Western films.
1954 - 1960s	Radio Taiwanese Opera	Radio Taiwanese Opera was broadcast on air with more Taiwanese and Chinese pop songs and new melodies.
1956 - 1981	Taiwanese Opera Films	Taiwanese Opera made its way to television in the 1960s.
1962 - 1997	TV Taiwanese Opera	Taiwanese Opera was introduced to television audiences, and was more abundant and elegant.
1980s - present	Refined Taiwanese Opera	Refined Taiwanese Opera is played in art halls, e.g. concert halls, theatres, opera houses. The performances are very elaborate.

Table 6.1 Types of Taiwanese Opera

### 6.3 TYPES OF HAND PUPPETRY

When Hand Puppetry was first introduced, it was a one-person show involving a short play, rather than an entire opera, and when it was brought to Taiwan from China in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Taiwanese initially rarely appreciated or understood this kind of performing art. A few performers turned to selling poultices while they were manipulating the puppets in order



to lure more people to watch the show, but this phenomenon was transient (Liu, 1990: 108). In terms of general understanding, Hand Puppetry can be categorised into traditional Hand Puppetry and Golden Light Hand Puppetry. Chiang (1990) divides the development of Hand Puppetry into eight periods: (1) Longdi (basket-bottom) Play period; (2) Beiguan Play period; (3) Ancient Books Play period; (4) Swordsmen Play period; (5) Kominka Movement period; (6) Anti-communist and Anti-Soviet Drama period; (7) Golden Light Hand Puppetry period; (8) Radio and TV Hand Puppetry period. In addition, Lu (1995) observes that it undergone three stages: the initial stage, the developed stage, and the transition stage. The following section illustrates representative types of performance and the development.

#### *6.3.1 Introduction stage*

The first example was the ‘Longdi Play’, which was inherited from the way in which ‘Tangshan masters’ (older artists from mainland China) used baskets to collect their stage materials. Since their scripts were usually put in the bottom of the basket, the Longdi Play was also referred to as the ‘basket-bottom’ play (Huang, 1996: 25), meaning a star turn to some extent. Then, it evolved into three branches: the Nanquan play from Quanzhou, the Baizi from Zhangzhou, and the Chaodiao play from Chaozhou (Hsieh, 2009: 52). Since these all belonged to the Nanquan system, the Longdi Play adopted the Nanguan Play as being the principal drama. The performance of the Nanguan Play was elegant and gentle and had few

martial art actions (Hsieh, 2005: 37). Particularly, all the actors would recite an opening poem to introduce themselves, and this indicated that the Nanguan Play was integrated with the intelligentsia at that time, which is why it was also called the Literati play (Liu, 1990: 57).

### *6.3.2 Developed stage*

As already mentioned, Taiwan was under Japanese colonial rule from 1895 to 1945, and with exception of the period of the Second World War (1937-1945), its colonial culture and arts were developed under the auspices of the Japanese. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hand Puppetry was influenced by the Beiguan Play, which was widespread in Taiwan at that time, to become Beiguan Hand Puppetry, and this was the start of its proper localisation in Taiwan (Chiang, 1995: 24). In addition to noisy and exciting music, Beiguan Hand Puppetry contained more martial arts plays and special techniques, e.g. shooting arrows, defeating a tiger, fighting with rattan shields, flying birds and galloping beasts. ‘Jumping out the window’ was the best known acrobatic feat, whereby the puppeteer threw the puppet from the upper window and caught it as it was jumping onto the stage, usually while they were both running away (Liu, 1990: 61-66). The stories were mainly adapted from numerous chivalrous novels.

Subsequently, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, chapters of historical novels were adapted and used, and such stories described how ordinary men became heroes and loyal courtiers and martyrs opposed evil. Most of the themes appealed to popular taste and were designed to

please the audience (Chen, 2000). Because of the low popularisation of education in the past, the chapters of historical novels were generally regarded as being part of real history, and the novels were considered to be ancient books; hence, the name ‘Ancient Books Play’ (Chiang, 1995: 26). Certain chapters of novels with stories of swordsmen formed another type of Hand Puppetry, i.e. the ‘Swordsmen Play’. The characteristic of the Swordsmen Play is that the leading roles possess unusual courage and abilities. They may be able to leap onto roofs and vault over walls and use white magic, proving that the characters of the swordsmen were mostly invented. Therefore, the Swordsmen Play left more room for artists to develop their ideas and establish their individual styles, which also contributed to the establishment of various schools of Hand Puppetry in Taiwan (Hsieh, 2005: 39-40).

However, Beiguan Hand Puppetry reached its peak around 1931, when the Kominka Movement (Japanisation Movement) discontinued the period of Beiguan Hand Puppetry (TELDAP, 2003). As already mentioned, during the Second World War, from 1937 to 1945, the Japanese government almost forbade traditional opera to be performed and the Kominka Movement particularly forced Hand Puppetry troupes to be Japanised. The features of the ‘Japanised Hand Puppetry’ are illustrated as follows:

1. The musical accompaniment was played by Western bands or phonograph records.
2. The costumes had to be Chinese-style garments or Japanese kimonos.

3. The lines in a play had to be a mixture of Taiwanese and Japanese in addition to Japanese narration.
4. The stage settings were more stereoscopic for convenient handling.

Consequently, the Kominka Movement reformed traditional Hand Puppetry and engendered Golden Light Hand Puppetry (Lu, 1961: 247; Chiang, 1990: 29).

### *6.3.3 Transition stage*

When Taiwan was released from Japanese rule in 1945, the traditional Hand Puppetry troupes were revived. However, the Kuomintang (KMT) took over the reins of government and, because of political concerns at that time, prohibited non-official social gatherings in 1947 (Chiang, 1995: 30), when Hand Puppetry shifted to indoor theatre stages rather than outdoor stages at temple fairs (Chiang, 1991: 59). Nevertheless, it was not long before outdoor-stage performances were allowed; in fact, Taiwanese Opera was first introduced to theatres in 1908, and the indoor theatre stage Hand Puppetry began to be commercially-orientated in the 1950s (Hsieh, 2009: 162-165).

At that time, the number of theatres was dramatically increasing and they were frequently fully occupied. If troupes were not competent, they could not survive in such fierce competition. Meanwhile, indoor theatre stage Hand Puppetry was prevalent, and since the traditional historical novels were no longer applicable, Indoor-stage Hand Puppetry troupes

began to write their own new scenarios to attract audiences. From 1952, troupes made use of conflict and weird stories, and attached importance to puppeteer modelling and visual effects, competing with each other for glamour in what later became ‘Golden Light Hand Puppetry’, with more light and sounds (Chou, 1996: 64-65). In addition, they abandoned the traditional backstage music and used Western film themes instead. They applied seven different coloured lights (Fig. 6.1) and firecrackers to shock the audience (Lu, 1995: 103; Hsieh, 2009: 188).

One of the participants illustrated how this had an effect:

We used two electric wires knotted together and made an explosive noise with a short circuit (Fig. 6.2-3). In the martial art fighting play, a boom sound was caused at the very final moment the villain fell down. Performers used gunpowder shaped like a pill. Then, troupes developed a gunpowder stand made of train rails, gradually upgraded from 1 firing hole to 5, 20, and 30 firing holes, to produce smoke when the puppets came on to the stage.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Moreover, temples, towers, scenery with hills and water, and peculiar stones were being substituted for traditional carved wooden platforms (Chiu, 2004: 386-387). The indoor theatre stage was designed with a wide front space and the background was correspondingly wider. In the past, theatres had three stages, so were called triple play stages, and this design was also adopted by Outdoor-Stage Hand Puppetry troupes. By virtue of the expansion of the stage, the puppets’ size was increased from about 25 cm to 53 cm, which had the effect that the audience

at the back could see the performance clearly (Lu, 1995: 103). One of respondents recalled:

When I was an apprentice around the time of the 1960s, I saw very large puppets. Some of them were almost like real people, and their eyes and mouths were movable.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)



Figure 6.1 Seven coloured lights



Figure 6.2 Old type sound effects maker



Figure 6.3 Pedal to make noise

As already mentioned, TTV was established in 1962, and this was followed by the launch of China Television Company (CTV) in 1969, and Chinese Television System (CTS)

in 1971, and because of the universal nature of televisions, audiences could watch entertainment programmes for free at home. Theatres faced a huge decrease in business (Chiu, 2000: 43), and indoor theatre stage Hand Puppetry found it hard to survive. It is worth noting that, at this time, although numerous performers were forced to end their careers, most of them returned to playing on outdoor stages. After a final play in Kaohsiung in 1989, Hand Puppetry ended its era of indoor theatre stage (Wu, 2005:153).

Hand Puppetry is a type of sound artistry, in which the spirit of the whole play revolves around the vocal leader telling a story. This form of entertainment has been broadcast since 1969, when audiences were allowed to listen to the radio while they were working. It is worth noting that many indoor-stage artists switched to this line of ‘Radio Hand Puppetry’, while also selling patented medicine for a commercial income (Chen, 2007: 225; Hsieh, 2009: 210). In terms of Hand Puppetry films, there were only four of these in its history, produced in 1958, 1967, 1968, and 2000 (Chen, 2007: 226-230).

From 1970 to 1974, TV Hand Puppetry became remarkable because of a famous series of programmes, ‘The Scholar Swordsman’. At that time, TV Hand Puppetry was performed live, and the puppets were manipulated with pre-recorded vocals. There were fierce battles for viewers between 1982 and 1989 (Chen, 2007). Meanwhile, outdoor-stage troupes were influenced by TV Hand Puppetry and tried their best to make the same effects as the TV

performances (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). However, a number of practitioners were keen to reduce their costs and took more cases, and certain vocal leaders recorded their vocals to be released on cassettes. This meant that performers could easily play the tapes for the themes without having to use their ‘meaty sounds’ while manipulating the puppets (Figs. 6.4-5).



Figure 6.4-5 Player and cassette tapes of Recording Hand Puppetry

Thereafter, ‘Recording Hand Puppetry’ was generated after 1985, and these instant performances are still widely-seen today (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe; HP09, Male, Puppeteer; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe; Hsieh, 2009: 215-216). In 1990, TV Hand Puppetry was extended to a cable channel (CATV), and its story-telling heroism changed to a contest of wit among groups, producing a new era of main roles and forming relevant creative industries (Chen, 2007). Tables 6.2 illustrates a chronology of development of Hand Puppetry by types as follows:



<b>Period</b>	<b>Types</b>	<b>Briefs</b>
Mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century	Longdi Play	The Longdi Play was also referred to as the basket-bottom play, as baskets were used to collect the stage props. All the scripts were usually put at the bottom of the basket.
Mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century - end of 19 <sup>th</sup> century	Nanguan Play	The performance of the Nanguan Play was elegant and gentle, and all roles would recite an opening poem to introduce themselves.
End of 19 <sup>th</sup> century	Beiguan Hand Puppetry	Beiguan Hand Puppetry had more martial art plays and special techniques, and its stories were mainly adapted from numerous chivalrous novels, presenting various views.
Early of 20 <sup>th</sup> century - present	Ancient Books Play	In the past, chapters of historical novels were generally regarded as being parts of real history. Therefore, these novels were considered as ancient books.
Early of 20 <sup>th</sup> century - present	Swordsmen Play	The characters of swordsmen were mainly hyped up, and may have been able to do acrobatics and use magic.
1937 - 1945	Japanised Hand Puppetry	The Kominka Movement Japanised traditional Hand Puppetry.
Mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century - present	Outdoor-stage Hand Puppetry	The practitioners of Outdoor-Stage Hand Puppetry were influenced by Indoor-stage and TV Hand Puppetry. They always tried their best to copy the same effects.
1908 - 1989	Indoor-stage Hand Puppetry	Indoor-stage Hand Puppetry was commercially- orientated. In order to attract the audience, troupes began to write their own scenarios.
1952 - present	Golden Light Hand Puppetry	Troupes made use of conflict and weird stories and emphasised puppeteer modelling and visual effects to form Golden Light Hand Puppetry with more light and sounds.
1969 - present	Radio Hand Puppetry	The same as Radio Taiwanese Opera
1958 - 2000	Hand Puppetry Films	The same as Taiwanese Opera Films
1985	Recording Hand Puppetry	Certain troupes' vocal leaders recorded their vocals onto cassettes for release or instant performances.
1962 - present	TV Hand Puppetry	TV Hand Puppetry relies on scene setting, editing and post-production, which could be regarded as being a type of animation. In particular, it has brought about a new era, puppet idols, and creative industries.

Table 6.2 Types of Hand Puppetry

#### 6.4 CHARACTERS AND CUSTOMS

Ever since the period of the ‘Local Gua-ah’, there had only been ‘Xiao Sheng’ (male leading role), ‘Xiao Dan’ (female leading role), and ‘Xiao Chou’ (clown) playing. However, Taiwanese Opera was influenced by Beijing Opera, which resulted in four main roles, i. e. Sheng, Dan, Jing, and Chou (Lin, 2001b: 100). Sheng is the male lead, Dan is the female lead, Jing is the supporting male role with the painted face, and Chou is the comic. Thus, there are typically eight main characters, called the ‘eight pillars’, including Xiang Sheng, Fu Sheng, Ku Dan, Fu Dan, Lao Po (Lao Dan), Shan Hua, Cai Dan, Da Hua (Wu & Wang, 1999: 32; Lin, 2000: 22). ‘Xiang Sheng’ represents young gentlemen or the literati, and ‘Fu Sheng’ is the secondary male lead, while the male role of the martial arts is called ‘Wu Sheng’. These roles were described by one of the interviewees as follows:

In Taiwanese Opera, there are normally two main male leading roles. One is called ‘Xiao Sheng’ and the other is called ‘Cai Hua’, which means villain. Then, there is a ‘Fu Sheng’ which means that the role is only secondary to the male leading role.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Similarly, ‘Fu Dan’ stands for the secondary female lead, which is also called ‘Hua Dan’, and this is a young and vivacious role. ‘Wu Dan’ is the female role of the martial play, and ‘Ku Dan’ is a unique role in Taiwanese Opera. ‘Ku’ means suffering, which relates to the fact

that the primary Dan is usually a tragic figure, while ‘Lao Po’ is actually ‘Lao Dan’, an elderly female role. Interestingly, ‘Shan Hua’ and ‘Cai Dan’ represent male and female comic roles, while ‘Da Hua’ is the supporting male role with the painted face (Lin, 2000: 22; Lin, 2006: 37). As for colours, red denotes uprightness and loyalty, white represents evil or crafty characters, and black is given to characters of soundness and integrity.

Costumes and make-up are often good indicators of roles. During the time of Luodisao, the performers’ costumes were rough and simple. Xiao Sheng held a folding fan and wore everyday clothes and a peaked cap, while Xiao Dan’s dresses had a coloured blossom pattern and the head-dress was a flower made by a scarf. However, gender was not the principle in traditional Taiwanese Opera, which consisted of cross-dressed performers, specifically women portraying men’s roles. The male comic wore a singlet, and one of his trouser legs was rolled up, while the female comic wore a long gay gown in a red colour and applied white powder (made of Zinc Oxide) to her face with a red circular spot on each cheek. Then, outdoor-stage performers’ wore very heavy make-up so that their faces could be seen by viewers situated at the back of the crowd (Lin, 2006: 43).

In the past, performers always used inferior quality make-up. We always applied baby powder with extremely large brushes. We often used the large powder brushes to daub our faces and then wiped the surplus powder off. Moreover, the skin of the elderly roles was darkened, but the skin of both the young leads was a reddish colour. My master told me that the pale colour make-up would make the skin look a soft pink

shade, and the make-up with darker colours would make it dark and yellowish.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

In the early days, Taiwanese Opera's stage costume widely displayed the three colours (red, white, and black) of make-up adopted from Beijing Opera. However, following TV Taiwanese Opera's lead, modern cosmetics were applied in the performances, which were much more realistic and natural (Kuo, 2003: 91).

The three colours of make-up was adopted from Beijing Opera, and its basic colours were black, red, and white. Yet, that was not the whole pattern. Besides, my master would add blue eye-shadow, and different troupe members may have had their own preferred colour tones. A lady with a plain face could look like a beauty using tri-colour make-up, but it is a rarely used in Taiwanese Opera these days.

(TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher)

Similar to the categories of Taiwanese Opera, Hand Puppetry has five main types of characters, including Sheng (male leading role), Dan (female leading role), Jing (painted-face supporting male role), Chou (clown), and Za (miscellaneous other roles) (Figs. 6.6-11).



Figure 6.6 Xiao Sheng



Figure 6.7 Xiao Dan



Figure 6.8 Jing



Figure 6.9 Chou



Figure 6.10-11 Za

Table 6.3 illustrates a comparison between characters of Taiwanese opera and Hand Puppetry as follows:

Taiwanese Opera		Hand Puppetry
Sheng	Xiang Sheng	Sheng
	Fu Sheng	
Dan	Ku Dan	Dan
	Fu Dan	
	Lao Po (Lao Dan)	
Jing	Da Hua	Jing
Chou	Shan Hua	Chou
	Cai Dan,	
		Za

Table 6.3 Characters of Taiwanese opera and Hand Puppetry

## 6.5 PLOTS

Performers of Taiwanese Opera call improvisation 'live play', while a 'dead play' involves a fixed scenario (Lin, 2008). The presentation of live plays was largely due to the illiteracy of former performers, who needed a 'Xi-Xiansheng' (play teacher) to set the scene and outline the plot.

Although we were provided with scenarios, we rarely referred to them. We used to perform spontaneously in an impromptu manner.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Plots were generally divided into two types, i.e. adaptations and newly-written scenarios (Lin, 2007). Various scripts (Figs. 6.12-13) of Taiwanese Opera themes involved historical novels, court cases, tales of gods and spirits, legends and myths, love affairs, good morals and current news (Lin, 2006: 34). In terms of the creative scenarios of Hand Puppetry, those were produced by the interaction of the vocal leader, the scenario teller, and the audience. The scripts were actually rather boring with brief outlines and simple structures. Most of the themes of Hand Puppetry were adapted from ancient books or stories of swordsmen and heroes, and the plots were performed in installments (Lu, 1995: 65).

In our performances, we took the main role as an axis and developed a series of stories. We have run old scenarios for years, while we keep creating new plots.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP06, Male, puppeteer)

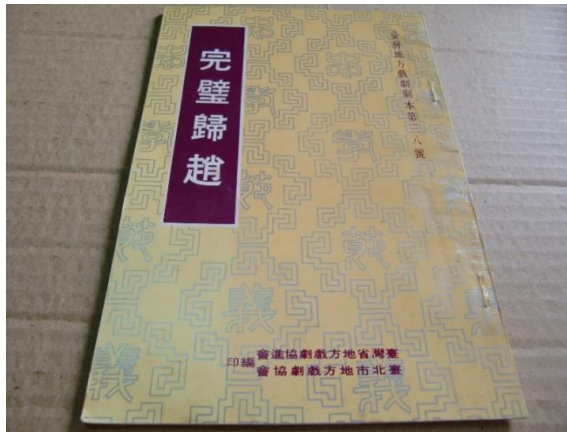


Figure 6.12 Historical novel script



Figure 6.13 Hero story script

## 6.6 MUSIC

Taiwanese Opera music is composed of arias and backstage music. The singing arias vocalise the Taiwanese vernacular, and the singing method can be a solo, a duet, or unison. The soloist describes the story of the play; if two performers speak and sing alternatively, each of them sings a single part in a duet. Unison is used in a performance transition on stage and indicates the mood of the role (Lin, 2006: 39-40). There are various forms of Taiwanese Opera arias, depending on diverse scenes and emotional expressions, e.g. dialogising, snivelling, lamenting. Furthermore, arias can be classified into five types: Old Gua-ah, which originated from Yilan, such as seven-word tunes, crying tunes for tragedies, Taiwanese and Chinese folk songs, tunes stemming from other operas such as the Du-Ma tune, and new melodies such as



Taiwanese and Chinese pop songs (Hsu, 2007: 18). In the early stages, a Kezaixian (two-stringed fiddle with a coconut body, used in Taiwanese opera), a Daguangxian (two-stringed fiddle used in Taiwan and Fujian, primarily by Holo and Hakka people), a Yueqin (plucked lute with a wooden body, a short fretted neck, and four strings tuned in pairs), and a Taiwanese bamboo flute (transverse flute) were the four principal instruments of Taiwanese Opera, while the percussion section, which included a Xiangzhan (gong put in a small assistor), a Sikuai (four pieces of bamboo strips), a Bangzi (small, high-pitched wood block), a Muyu (a rounded wood block carved in the shape of a fish, struck with a wooden stick, often used in Buddhist chanting) played an accompaniment (Chang, 2001: 16).

Ever since the indoor theatre stage, the backstage music has been influenced by Beijing Opera, being a combination of the stringed instruments of Wen Chang and the percussion instruments of Wu Chang (Hsu, 2007: 18). There was a saying in traditional operas that 30 percent was at the front, while 70 percent was back stage, so the backstage music was vitally important to the performance. Wen Chang was generally located on the left side of the stage, and Wu Chang was seated on the right (Kuo, 2003: 86-87). A range of instruments was added in Wen Chang, such as a Huqin (a general term for certain two-stringed bowed instruments), a Yumudi (a large partially flattened tube reed connected to a thin cylindrical pipe), Dongxiao (end-blown flute), a Liujiaoxian (two-stringed fiddle with a hexagonal body), a Tiexianzai

(two-stringed fiddle with a metal amplifying horn at the end of its neck), and a Suona (double-reed wind instrument with a flaring metal bell). In terms of Wu Chang instruments, except for a Bangzi and Muyu, Xiaogu/Tanggu (medium-sized barrel drum played with two sticks) Luo (gongs), and Xiaobo (cymbals) were used in place of other percussion instruments. In addition, bass drums and snare drums were introduced to troupes, although more Western musical instruments could be seen in some Taiwanese Opera troupes, e.g. trumpets, saxophones, guitars, keyboards, when artists played pop songs or new melodies (Chang, 2001: 16). One of the respondents revealed that:

We have two players in our troupe, a drum player and a keyboard player, taking charge of Wu Chang and Wen Chang respectively. Actually, my mother, who was a Taiwanese Opera performer, can play the keyboard as well.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

The backstage music of Hand Puppetry has similar features and applications as traditional operas. It is worth noting that senior vocal leaders could not only speak the lines, but could also sing solely for the transition. Most vocal leaders handed over to backstage artists or assistants for a short break, and invite special singers to take over the role, which is how subsequent lead singers were developed. Parts of puppet roles had their exclusive theme songs. They were accompanied by background Nanquan, Beiquan, or Western music,

depending on the type of song. Famous singers would be particular selling points during the period of the Indoor-stage Hand Puppetry, and some of them even made records. There was an interesting phenomenon that numerous Hand Puppetry singers married vocal leaders and then became assistant puppeteers. The contribution of the singing system was to cultivate certain outstanding singers and music writers (Chen, 2005: 23-24).

## 6.7 FAITHS, TABOOS AND LIMITATIONS

Most traditional operas were introduced by immigrants from Fujing province in China in and around the 17<sup>th</sup> century. While they were moving around Taiwan, they had to conquer a harsh environment and resolve problems. Sometimes it was hard to make a living and they felt helpless, and were forced to put their hopes for the unknown future in the hands of the gods. Consequently, early residents built a number of temples and thanked the gods whenever festivals were held. They particularly used to play operas to delight their gods (Lin, 2001b: 10-11). On the outdoor-stage, acting a ‘god’s play’ was presented before the primary show, in which the players played the parts of gods, such as three immortals (gods of happiness, prosperity, and longevity) (Fig. 6.14), or eight immortals (a group of legendary gods in Chinese mythology) (Fig. 6.15), in a performance to greet and thank them (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). It is worth noting that the acting a ‘god’s play’ is the priority at religious fairs. As

long as the performers enact this play, the client will remunerate them, even if the subsequent show for entertainment has to be abandoned due to unforeseen circumstances, e.g. storms, heavy rains (Lu, 1995: 51-52).



Figure 6.14 Taiwanese Opera - acting the three immortals



Figure 6.15 Hand Puppetry - acting the eight immortals

In addition, the client would request the theme of the performance, and how a good a play was implies the client's sense of appreciation (Tsai, 2005: 272; Lin, 2006: 96), but a 'picky invitation' was not accepted as an implicit agreement (Lin, 2006: 92). Of course performers could decide whatever they wanted to play (Troupe; HP09, Male, Puppeteer), but only after they had asked for the gods' instructions and approval (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). Troupes would generally choose auspicious plots to satisfy the audience, particularly during festivals (Lu, 1995: 55-56). At the end of the performance, the performers would throw sweets and coins from the stage to wish people luck and peace, and believers would go and pick them up.

In contrast to the gods, ghosts are wandering souls with no descendants to worship them. In Taiwan, ghosts are nicknamed 'good brothers', and most temples offered these 'good brothers' foods and entertainment, particularly in during the seventh lunar month, the so-called 'ghost month', when it is alleged that ghosts can be released from Hell and have a one-month holiday in the world of mortals. Amazingly, some supernatural events might happen in troupes, believe it or not! An interviewees illustrated his experience as follows:

One day, when the space was empty after the show, we poured water under the stage, and we heard someone shout, 'Do not pour water at random! I am here!'. However, we could only hear the voice rather than see anyone.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

This denotes that most performers believe that there may have an invisible audience from a mysterious world. Based on mutual respect, troupes used to light cigarettes for the reception or leave a row of 'special seats' if available, in the hope that these 'good brothers' would not disturb the performance.

Therefore, opera players were aware of some faiths and taboos; for example, hand puppeteers normally avoided referring to 'a snake' on the grounds that the god they worshipped was the Lord of Western Qin, who had once been bitten by a snake (HP05, Male, Head of Troupe). In addition, Marshal Tian Du was the tutelary god of Taiwanese Opera performers (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe), and it was said that he had been abandoned as an infant, and a crab had helped him; therefore, crabs would never be served as a dish to the artists of Taiwanese Opera (Jiang, 1999: 209). Yet, Taiwanese Opera practitioners were supposed to defend dogs because Marshal Tian Du rode a dog, according to legend (Kuo, 2005: 105), and prior to setting up the stage, the troupe had to burn incense to worship the land god. At the end of the performance, the troupe had to burn paper money; otherwise, weird events would sometimes occur (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). However, in a kind of sex discrimination, women were not allowed to sit in the opera boxes in case the troupe encountered misfortune, and no-one dared to disobey this rule (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe).

The relationship between religion and traditional performing arts is significant. Certain temples not only provided opera troupes with opportunities to perform, but also contributed resources to support them.

In terms of teaching as a community, we used to perform and teach Taiwanese Opera near the Confucius Temple in Zuoying District, Kaohsiung. This was when there was a fever among local residents to learn Taiwanese Opera. There was the same kind of project in Sangming District, Kaohsiung, collaborating with the community of the Sanfong Temple.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

In fact, our current troupe studio was provided by a temple. We were the first Taiwanese Opera troupe to play Buddhist stories in order to promote the Buddhist doctrine and feed back to the temple and its disciples.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

Although most religious events in Taiwan are intensely connected to Buddhism and Taoism, a few Christian churches engaged Hand Puppetry to present missionary stories (Figs. 6.16-17). Certain hand puppeteers were Christians and they tried very hard to resolve conflicts between Christian disciplines and traditional arts, e.g. images of oriental mascots, which was unprecedented. Most Taiwanese Opera was also performed on outdoor stages (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe).



Figure 6.16 Angel puppet



Figure 6.17 Priest puppet

In addition, if a Taiwanese Opera troupe and a Hand Puppetry troupe are invited to perform outdoors simultaneously, there is an unwritten rule that the Taiwanese Opera troupe will take priority in starting the show. Hand puppeteers respect Taiwanese Opera as a full-scale opera, which is considered to be more formal than Hand Puppetry (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). Lin (2006: 98) also states that there is likely to be more than two troupes of traditional opera performing at rival shows in religious fairs. While one troupe occupies the primary stage, the others are obliged to perform on secondary ones. The proper order is from Marionette Puppetry, Beiguan Plays, Taiwanese Opera, Hand Puppetry to Shadow Puppetry, and it is agreed that this tradition has existed for a long time.



## 6.8 ORGANISATIONS AND MANAGEMENT OF TROUPES

Although outdoor troupes were initially formed from the aggregation of individual street performers of Luodisao and other groups, early-stage performers were not fixed and had to work for their living. They may have had to sell medicines to create an income. After they had accumulated a good reputation and built a good connection with the temples, they would be invited to perform on a regular basis. Meanwhile, the medicine sellers continued to co-operate with pharmaceutical producers, and having increased their number of members from 3-5 to about 20, they gradually developed and became organised troupes (Wang, 2004: 85-87).

### *6.8.1 Membership of troupes*

Establishing a mature troupe of Taiwanese Opera or Hand Puppetry ideally required a troupe head, a play teacher (Xi-Xiansheng), a charge hand, front stage performers, backstage musicians and a prop man. The head of the troupe was the proprietor, who had to provide the capital and buy the stage props and costumes. As already mentioned, the play teacher wrote the scenarios and organised the rehearsals, similar to the playwright and director today. The charge hand was the agent who helped to find new opportunities to schedule performances, so he was not a fixed troupe member but worked for a commission (Lin, 2008b).

Since all the performers were in front of the curtain, a contract hire system had to be

developed to avoid the possibility of them job-hopping between troupes. There were two solutions to this, namely, recruiting on an annual contract basis, or offering a contract-bound apprenticeship for a minimum of three and a half years (Wang, 2004: 85-87; HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). The former meant paying monthly wages for fixed performers, while the latter simply meant providing board and lodging for the apprentices (TO01, Male, Head of Troupe). If the apprentices had money problems, the troupe heads would give them an interest-free loan or a 'Ban-De' (Lin, 2006: 103), although 'Ban-Des' were also beneficial for fixed and talented troupe members (TO003, Male, Staff). More details will be provided about the apprenticeship in Chapter 6. However, because it was difficult to consolidate or perpetuate a contractual agreement, leading roles or essential members were usually the troupe head's trusted relatives, particularly for inheritors of family troupes (Lin, 2008a; TO03, Male, Staff).

Wu Chang needed a principal drummer to coordinate the activities between the front and the back of the stage, in addition to an artist to play the gong and cymbals. As for Wen Chang, the troupe needed two artists to perform stringed music and wind music, such as Suona and Kezaixian. Sometime they had to play modern Western instruments for a change. There was also always a person skilled in managing and arranging the relevant stage props. For example, the fundamental facilities in a Hand Puppetry troupe should include sufficient puppets and relevant stage props to perform the entire play, and a 'drama basket' in the form of a wooden

chest to contain all the materials. Therefore, providing the capital to form a Hand Puppetry troupe was called a ‘complete basket’, which required a front stage vocal leader, who was the spirit of the troupe, and a certain number of puppet manipulators. (Kuo, 2005: 94). Generally speaking, the basic cost of establishing an entire troupe of Hand Puppetry was NTD3 million (about £60,000) for someone who had not inherited a troupe from the preceding generation (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe).

Comparatively, the troupe management of contemporary theatres provides integrated functions to create a system, and these can be divided into four parts: production, technical, administration, and human resources (Wang, 2004: 103-105). Firstly, all front stage performers and the play teacher, who is the playwright and director, are responsible for the production, including the acting, plot writing, and rehearsals. Secondly, backstage musicians and props staffs are responsible for the music, staging, scenery, lighting, and costumes. Thirdly, a troupe needs coordinators to conduct documentation, financial, marketing, and programming arrangements, and last, but certainly not least, the recruitment and training of talent and members is extremely significant - this sense helps the troupe’s sustainable development and transmission of artistry and skills. In modern-day practice, this part may be outsourced to professional trainers or supervisors, although the proprietor can be involved in any specific part if applicable. Table 6.4 illustrates this developing model of organisational

structure as follows:

	<b>Divisions</b>	<b>Personnel</b>	<b>Duties</b>
Troupe proprietor	Production	Performers	Acting, plots writing, and rehearsals
		Playwright	
		Director	
	Techniques	Backstage musicians	Music, staging, scenery, lighting, and costumes
		Property staff	
	Administration	Coordinator	Documentation, financial, marketing, programming arrangements
	Human resource	Trainer	Skills training and human dispatch
		Supervisor	

Table 6.4 Applied organisation of troupe management

However, even existing practitioners today can rarely handle large-scale troupes. The proprietors have been forced to provide troupe members with a daily wage rather than a monthly salary.

Opera performers without sidelines are rare. They are only paid for the days they actually perform. For example, if they perform for 20 days, they are paid 20 days' wages.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Apart from leading roles and essential staff, other secondary troupe members are not required to sign a contract, and un-contracted performers are obliged to work with different troupes to survive; nonetheless, each fixed member plays a dual role.

Our troupe head deals with public relations and negotiates with officials and I am a performer and also take care of the administrative work. Because of limited finance, we are unable to employ another full-time administrator.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

As stated above, a contractual relationship may not be permanent, so some Taiwanese Opera troupes would connect to other troupes by marriage to increase their family members. Troupe proprietors' children, sons-in-law, or daughters-in-law would form sub-troupes (Wang, 2004: 90-91). For instance, the chief of a well-known Taiwanese Opera troupe has nine brothers, all of whom oversee different branches. His wife is the famous leading male role in his troupe, and her father is also a performer with his own troupe. Now her elder brother has inherited her father's troupe. These huge family-linked troupes have very strong connections and monopolise most of the resources of Taiwanese Opera (TO03, Male, Staff). Therefore, in the troupe alliance, all members have to respect seniorities, thus they have less conflict over leading roles and positions (Wang, 2004: 92). Nevertheless, there are more independent Hand Puppetry troupes because of their sharply individual characteristics.

In terms of non-family troupe members, they may be apprentices from the past, devotees of operas, or even fans of leading roles.

From my perspective, perhaps younger members join the troupe because they are adoring fans and are chasing leading roles. Moreover, another reason is that their parents have been troupe members, as performers or musicians, and they have just followed in their parents' footsteps since their childhood.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

In fact, since numerous artists are only concerned with performing, it is an advantage if these devotees are highly educated, because this means that they usually make good administrators or trainers (TO07, Male, Teacher). If they can trust each other and build up a firm relationship in terms of co-determination and co-management, they might be successful in winning a proper place for their organisations.

I act as the female lead in our troupe, and another lady acts as the male lead. I usually call her elder sister, and I live with her. Her family treats me as their nearest relative.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

Actually, our troupe was established by my mother and my aunt. My aunt is not a blood relation, but I treat her like my mother because of the long and firm sisterhood between her and my mother. They have lived together for years. My aunt's son and I grew up together, and we are like blood brothers. Although he has his own troupe, we always share our resources.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

#### *6.8.2 Occasions for performance*

Regardless of the hardship in the early stages, after entering the indoor-stage period, most

troupes have more commercial opportunities to perform. Over time, there were three methods of performing, the first of which involved proprietors inviting troupes to play in their theatres. All the troupes had to do was present the shows without worrying about equipment, props, or profit and loss. The box office was just a bargaining counter between the theatre proprietors and the troupes.

When playing in a theatre, the troupe could be on trial for days. Then, if the performances were popular, the next show schedule would be extended to one month. Apart from the tax, the troupe incomes were generally not bad at that time.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

The second method involved troupes only hiring the stage from the theatre owner and taking the responsibility for the box office receipts. They had to publicise the show and canvass the audience. Thirdly, a payment distribution was agreed between the theatre proprietor and the troupe, which meant that they shared the costs and profits in the agreed proportion. Normally, the troupes would benefit more (about 70% or 60% of the incomes) because they had to pay the performers and other staff (Lin, 2006: 137-138). When there were fixed commercial performances, this was a win-win investment.

In the past prosperous time, I could perform for 30 days every month. Sometimes, I was awarded by the audience as well. As a performer passing through hard times, my total monthly earnings were more than other careers.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

As already stated, after the indoor-stage era ended, most troupes had to depend on outdoor-stage performances to maintain their business. They were usually invited by proprietors, staff or believers in temples to delight the gods by celebrating their birthdays, although invitations and opportunities to perform were not perennial.

There are various birthdays of gods and goddesses, and we are always invited to play in front of temples for gods' birthday festivals. The number of performances depends on whether it is high season or low season. For example, it is usually slack in the month before the Lunar New Year because there are not many gods' birthdays then.

(HP04, Male, Puppeteer)

The high season runs from January to July every year; then August and September is the low season. On the whole, there are opportunities to perform on fewer than five days per month from October to December because there are numerous gods' birthdays in the first half of the year. During this period, some troupe performers live with unstable economic conditions.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Because of budget difficulties, some troupes not only apply for state subsidies to help them to grow, but also try diligently to innovate and present more popular performances. This illustrates the prospects of certain troupes of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; HP01, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe).



## 6.9 CONCLUSION

Although both Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry originated from different regions, they share some common features. For example, they have been performed on outdoor and indoor stages, on radio and on television, and have played important roles in religious festivals and special celebrations. Since they began, they have used various types of innovative means to cope with the changes and demands of different eras. In addition, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry share similar features, such as characters, costumes, plots and music, which are assimilated from other branches of traditional opera, particularly Beijing Opera. Improvisation was called ‘live’ play in contrast with a ‘dead’ play, which had a fixed scenario. Most troupes needed a scenario teller to outline the plots, which could be an adaptation or a newly-written script. In addition, music was classified into singing in front of the curtain and backstage music, including the stringed instruments of Wen Chang and the percussion instruments of Wu Chang, as well as some Western musical instruments.

The performance of traditional operas in Taiwan has been influenced by religion, and practitioners have cared about faith and taboos for a long time when performing on the stage. It is worth noting that the primary purpose of folk performances has always been to delight the gods and celebrate their birthdays, and a mature troupe in the past required a troupe head,

a play teacher, a charge hand, front stage performers, backstage musicians and a props person. To build a stable cooperation, the proprietors had to implement a contract hire system with diverse conditions, such as apprenticeships or hiring members on an annual basis. They generally liked to employ their relatives as leading roles or essential members. As for secondary troupe members, they may be part-time staff who were shunted between different troupes. Family members of Taiwanese Opera used to be united in marriage to expand the lineup, and these connections created more benefits. However, Hand Puppetry troupes may have looked for other solutions because they were mostly individual characters. As well as this, some non-family members were supposed to build up a cooperative community for their career development. The next chapter will explore how practitioners develop and pass on their skills in different training systems.

## CHAPTER 7

### TRANSMISSION OF PERFORMING ARTS

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the training methods and learning approaches of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry. With innovation and creativity, troupes may have future prospects, presenting a model for traditional performing arts. Finally, the difficulties and issues of transmitting skills and artistry of these two operas will be indicated here.

#### 7.2 TRAINING AND APPROACHES

##### *7.2.1 Apprenticeships*

At one time, theatre performances of Taiwanese Opera flourished, and many troupes required numerous staff. The most common way of learning skills was by becoming an apprentice under contract to a troupe. Most of the apprentices in Taiwanese Opera came from impoverished families which could not afford to feed them, and since the pupils themselves were fond of Taiwanese Opera, they were contracted to be apprentices when they were children, with their parents' approval.

In the 1950s, Taiwan was in its agricultural period, and most families were not in good

economic condition; meanwhile, Taiwanese Opera was prevailing in theatres. There is a proverb saying: 'Being parents without alms, therefore send their children to learn performing techniques', which means that some parents are very poor as if they are living without God's shelter, having no alternative but entrusting their children to troupes.

(TO01, Male, Head of Troupe)

Back then, a block of households could hardly afford their children, so that parents reckoned that being apprentices in troupes of Taiwanese Opera was good for their children and would improve their situations as well.

(TO003, Male, Staff)

These apprentices were called 'contract-bound children' (TO07, Male, Teacher), and a contract-bound apprenticeship lasted for a minimum of three and a half years. Instead of paying wages, their masters, who were normally heads of troupes, provided their apprentices with board and lodging (TO01, Male, Head of Troupe). The apprentices' income mainly came from pin money given to them by their masters and occasional cash gifts after a performance (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). If apprentices had money difficulties, their masters would lend them a sum of money, called 'Ban-De'. When apprentices borrowed 'Ban-De', which was actually an interest-free loan, they were obliged to participate in performances (Lin, 2008). Certain interviewees explained how this worked:

My apprentices were learning and living in my troupe. After they finished their apprenticeships of approximately three and a half years, I would not seek repayment of the 'Ban-De' money.

(TO01, Male, Head of Troupe)

Sometimes, heads of troupes would like hold talented apprentices or members by offering more ‘Ban-De’. According to the agreement, apprentices returned the money pro rata, e.g. 5%, 10%, being debited from their monthly salaries.

(TO003, Male, Staff)

Such an unwritten rule was applicable to troupes of Hand Puppetry. If the apprentices left or hopped to other troupes prior to the end of their original contracts, they had to reimburse all the money.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Most contract-bound apprentices had to serve their masters and, to some extent, they were treated as indentured servants. Table 7.1 illustrates the timetable of the apprentices in one of the interviewee’s mother’s Taiwanese Opera troupes.

Time	Activities
4.00	Rise and serve their master
4.30 - 6.30	Kung fu drill and stunts
6.30 - 7.30	Arias and postures practice
7.30 - 9.00	Laundry
11.00	Lunchtime
14.00 or 14.30 <sup>1</sup> - 17.00	Matinee
19.30	Warm-up before the evening performance
20.00 - 23.00	Evening performance

Table 7.1 Timetable of the daily life of Taiwanese Opera apprentices

During their daily lives in troupes, apprentices would probably get up early at about 4.00 am and serve their masters with a toilet and breakfast tea.<sup>2</sup> Then they started their drill of stunts, voices and postures, e.g. running around the stage, tumbling,

<sup>1</sup> Matinees start from 14.00 in winter (Cheng, 2001: 56).

<sup>2</sup> Most performers in Taiwanese Opera do not take breakfast (Cheng, 2001: 55)

jumping and singing. A succession of practices would continue for approximately three hours. Following that, they had to launder the master's clothes until around 9.00 am or 10.00 am, when they may have needed to prepare meals. After finishing lunch at around 11.00 am, they would set out to support the matinee.

(TO07, Male, Teacher)

Apprentices were sometimes required to act in bit parts, as well as undertaking their internship activities, to fill any small role vacancies in performances. Although they were not paid, they were rewarded in other ways if they played a part in the performance. However, they were like nomads who rarely settled in one place, normally staying somewhere for approximately a month before moving with their masters and troupe members to the next venue to perform. They lived all year round in this roaming pattern, which illustrates that performing with a troupe was a rough and ready way of life (TO07, Male, Teacher).

My master led us to perform Hand Puppetry in various theatres around Taiwan, we slept in a dormitory shared with other members, but certain households would have plain mosquito nets as if their screens. Yet, we were not provided any dining furniture excepting for our master. All of us squatted on the ground to have meals.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Owing to performing from place to place, many troupes are with no fixed abode. Yet, when performing in different theatres, no staffs were offered accommodation to stay. They used to make beds on the floor in theatres and obtained resources on the spot.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Similar to Taiwanese Opera, an apprenticeship system existed in the early years for learners of Hand Puppetry. However, this lasted for approximately three years and four months (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe). The apprentices in troupes of Hand Puppetry also had to perform chores from early morning. Table 7.2 illustrates the schedule of one of the respondents when he was an apprentice.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activities</b>
7.00/8.00 - 9.00	Wake up and do odds and ends
11.00 - 11.30	Lunchtime
14.00 - 17.00	Matinee
17.00 - 17.30	Dinnertime
20.00 - 23.00	Evening performance
23.30	Night snack time

Table 7.2 Timetable of the daily life of Hand Puppetry apprentices

We woke up at around 8.00 am or 9.00 am, or even earlier at 7.00 am. Then, the apprentices would collect firewood to boil water, and sweep and worship the Lord of Western Qin. Helping our masters to freshen up was also part of the routine. Sometimes, I had to be a nanny to care for my master's baby. From 11.00 am to 11.30 am was time for lunch, the first meal to replenish our energy. Then, we assisted with the arrangement of the puppets as per our master's notes for the matinees from 2.00 pm to 5.00 pm and evening performances from 8.00 pm to 11.00 pm. Periodically we might have stepped onto the streets to advertise the main shows in the evenings. We had to finish our dinner before 5.30 pm, and then we had nothing but a night snack at 11.30 pm after the show.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

The above examples reveal that the number of working hours of Hand Puppetry apprentices was less than those of the Taiwanese Opera apprentices. Their routine could last for more than ten hours, including seeing and learning from the performances, manipulating the puppets,

and speaking. Moreover, they practiced almost all the time, even when they were half asleep.

(HP03, Male, Puppeteer)

As already stated, 'Ban-De' was widely-applied in Hand Puppetry troupes. Yet, some practitioners inherited their fathers' troupes, while other puppeteers devoted themselves to their troupes because of their huge interest in Hand Puppetry. Some apprentices actually came from better-off families, but they still volunteered to be puppeteers.

In fact, my father had his own company of construction industry. Yet, I would rather abstain from my family business and turned to learning Hand Puppetry merely because of my strong interests. At that time, some people thought I was a silly boy.

(HP07, Male, Head of Troupe)

After seeing my master's performance of Hand Puppetry, I was fascinated by his artistry. Then I strung along with my master after graduating from junior high school. Fortunately, my family status was not bad at the moment, thus my mother was able to support me during my apprenticeship but did covertly in case my father became aware of that, as he did not agree me being an apprentice.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

When I was an apprentice, I followed a well-known master who lived in a different county, far from my township. The distance one way is over 30 kilometers. In any case I rode my motorbike to commute between these two places nearly every day just for the sake of learning puppetry.

(HP10, Male, Head of Troupe)

Since Hand Puppetry is usually passed down from father to son, the majority of puppeteers are male, and newcomers are also chiefly male. Comparatively speaking, there are



more actresses in Taiwanese Opera troupes. The gender disproportion in either sphere was disclosed by some participants as follows:

Cross-dressed performers are widely seen in Taiwanese Opera - women portraying male roles. In our troupe, there are only three men, acting Wu Sheng, male martial roles.

(TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher)

I am currently the vocal leader of this troupe. Actually, I inherited my father's troupe, and my younger brother and son are with me as well. You can see that the other puppeteers in my troupe are all male. In my opinion, manipulating puppets needs much strength, in particular large-sized puppets. So, I reckon that this is why there are rarely female puppeteers. Yet, I saw a female vocal leader many years ago. She was more popular than the male performers on the stage. I never saw another lady puppeteer.

(HP02, Male, Head of Troupe)

I am the third generation successor of our troupe of Hand Puppetry. According to my experiences, devotees of Hand Puppetry somehow consist mostly of male. They are age about 20 and 30 something.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

### *7.2.2 Necessary Skills and Features*

Because the characters are so diverse, trainees of Taiwanese Opera have to learn the motions and postures of their specific roles. Further, conveying the facial expressions and emotions in the eyes of the characters is emphasised as being an advanced skill. Teachers indicate why and

how they are required to act in order to present the dramatic tension of the situation (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe). In terms of Hand Puppetry, the training of puppeteers is extremely demanding. In addition to having a good memory, they are required to be observant and good with their hands. Puppeteers have to learn how to manipulate the puppets to present stunts such as fighting (Fig. 7.1), riding, and shooting. Every small action demonstrates the accomplishment of the puppeteer.



Figure 7.1 Two puppets are fighting

Being a puppeteer, in addition to basic motions, I have learnt some more acrobatics of puppets like plate spinning, fire breathing, face changing, motorbike riding, arrow shooting and gun firing.

(HP03, Male, Puppeteer)

Our troupe members have regular drills in my studio. Normally, I ask the newcomers to try skills such as manipulating puppets, carving and fabricating puppets, making

puppet dresses, and telling stories. Then they can find what they are especially interested in, and they can learn to specialise in that aspect.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

Each role of hand puppet has its own nature, and the puppeteer has to play distinct motions according to different characters. In order to present the puppeteer's competence, the puppeteer should look attentively at the puppet he is manipulating. In addition, he should hold the puppet upright at all times; although it is tiring to hold it continually, but it is considered as a respectful attitude of his profession.

(HP10, Male, Head of Troupe)

It is worth noting that being the one and only compere, the vocal leader (Figs. 6.2-3) is the spirit of the entire performance in terms of impersonating multiple characters with varied tones and expressions of diverse genders and ages. Strictly speaking, to be an outstanding vocal leader, a trainee should possess five essential skills: beating, stringing, blowing, singing and speaking. Firstly, beating is to beat a drum. Secondly, stringing is to play stringed instruments. Thirdly, blowing is to perform with wind instruments. Fourthly, singing is to sing in tune. Lastly, speaking is telling stories. The content of storytelling is particularly the most difficult to imitate, since it is based on quick reactions, excellent eloquence and great attainment, having been fostered and accumulated for months and years (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe).



Figure 7.2 Vocal leader telling stories



Figure 7.3 Live speaking in the theatre

When recruiting new members to a Taiwanese Opera troupe, first and foremost requirement is that candidates cannot be off-key or inarticulate. Although they are unlikely to be refused in this case, they will only be assigned to supporting roles instead of having a

singing role. New performers will be assigned to appropriate roles according to their individual timbre, appearance, nature, and interests (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe).

Referring to the selection of members of Hand Puppetry, people who are highly interested in Hand Puppetry are always welcome to join the troupes. However, there may be some concerns about how long they will last and the extent to which they can cooperate. In any case of performing arts, practitioners are usually searching for people who have a moral personality, and a strong ability to resist stress in order to bear the hardships and exacting training. It is not easy to determine someone's place at the outset; therefore, prior to becoming a fixed member of the troupe, the newcomers are often invited to assist the troupe in activities and performances, if they are willing to do so. Then, provided that the candidates are qualified, they will be absorbed into the troupe.

We demand people who are willing to join us not only their basic skills but also their devoted attitudes, being harmonious, gregarious and dedicated; moreover, being obedient to teachers is requisite during the training.

(TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher)

We might know someone on some occasions like associations in schools. If he or she would like to enter into our troupe, we would observe him or her for a period of time. In the beginning, we would let him or her to act a bit part in a play and assist our performances sometimes. Actually, I was chosen by our head of troupe in the same way. After determining his or her acting potential, we would permit him or her to be our fixed member. If not, we would not ask him or her to perform.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

I always welcome people interested in Hand Puppetry to learn skills in my troupe. Although I inherited my father's skills, I would not hold back a trick or two in teaching trainees as long as they are willing to learn Hand Puppetry. However, being a beginner in my troupe, he or she has to do some chores initially. Then he or she can try every part of the relevant skills to determine the aspect in his or her performance life.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

### *7.2.3 Acquisition of skills*

Almost no specialised training is currently provided for troupes of Taiwanese Opera, and many junior members of troupes learn the skills themselves without any routine training. They observe how the senior artists act, and ask questions about performing, patterning themselves on other performers. In addition, media is a source of their self-learning, since at times, a small gesture or eye contact has a specific meaning. However, although trainees may learn how to act through self-learning, they may have no clear idea about why they are performing these actions. Sadly, they may not have been told about such meanings and purposes. The following illustrates some relevant experiences:

Our performers of the older generation used to learn skills by stealthily observing when they were apprentices. In our troupe, being the director, my mother would instruct our members. Yet, this was not regular training. Our members just randomly learned something by themselves. So, I feel sorry about this gap in the transmission of Taiwanese Opera.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

Most senior members in my troupe assumed that I knew almost everything including basic skills. To be honest, I had never seen a lot of the things before. As a result, when I did something wrong, there was nobody to tell me whether it was right or not, or to show me how to do put it right. In terms of learning skills of performing, I could only rely on some media, such as videos, DVDs and TV programmes of Taiwanese Opera.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

However, the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts (TCPA) has a department of Taiwanese Opera, which was originally established in 1994. The department recruits 13-year old pupils as junior high school students and trains them up as undergraduates. Since those pupils have no basic skills, they are chosen by voice tests, motion tests and interviews. Afterwards, if they would like to apply for higher-qualified courses, they need to pass paper-based examinations, practical examinations, and interviews (TCPA, 2012). Moreover, some amateurs get together in associations to explore their particular interests. They have regular professional training, which can be divided into two phases, namely, ‘basic skills’ (Fig. 7.4) and ‘team training’ (Fig. 7.5). Prior to team training, all the trainees are required to learn basic skills, including arias and lines, basic motions and postures. Yet, amateur troupes do not practice on a daily basis, so they may need more time to acquire adequate skills (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher).



Figure 7.4 Members split legs to develop softness



Figure 7.5 Team training through rehearsal

The method of learning how to sing arias and lines of Taiwanese Opera used to be that teachers sang verse by verse and students did likewise. However, a score has now been introduced to teach Taiwanese Opera, and this has some advantages, the first of which is that



trainees can recall the tunes and lyrics via sheet music. Secondly, they can confirm the accuracy of the teacher's pitches and beats. Lastly, this standardised method makes a good contribution to the transmission in case different teachers sing various rhythms which they regard as their individual styles. Thus, the score is a successful complement to the music of Taiwanese Opera (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe).

Hand puppets have been progressively developed to various sizes for decades. The range of size has advanced gradually from about 25 cm to 53 cm and up to 100 cm (Chen, 2007). The puppeteer is able to manipulate two traditional puppets with each hand (Fig. 7.6). Thus these two small puppets are like gloves. If the puppeteer wants to make the puppet perform more bodily actions, he will normally handle it with a stick hidden inside the puppet's clothes. Puppeteers call the stick 'Tien-De-Zong' (Fig. 7.7), which signifies something hidden within the cosmos - the philosophy is that human body is like micro cosmos. The stick is also applicable when dealing with large puppets.

Some puppets have a stick inside them, and we use it to assist in doing more complicated actions such as scratching the puppet's head, pretending to ponder, using a fan, and so on. The stick is called 'Tien-De-Zong', and it is also applied to large puppets.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)



Figure 7.6 Manipulating two puppets with each hand



Figure 7.7 Manipulating a puppet with ‘Tien-De-Zong’

It is interesting how one puppeteer can present various roles such as the eight immortals at the same time. In that case, the puppeteer would use upholders (Fig. 7.8) to upright numerous puppets on the stage (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). In addition, one puppeteer can

handle one or two puppets, depending on the size of the puppet and the complexity of the actions (Fig. 7.9). Two or three puppeteers are needed to manipulate an extra-large puppet (Fig. 7.10), which is perhaps equal in size to a real person (Fig. 7.11). Therefore, puppeteers need to cultivate a very good tacit understanding of each other by practicing repeatedly (HP03, Male, Puppeteer).



Figure 7.8 Upholders of puppets



Figure 7.9 Performing the actions as if he was the puppet



Figure 7.10 Two puppeteers co-manipulate the puppet



Figure 7.11 Extra-large puppets are equal in size to real people

In addition, since the master usually presents his main show in the evening, the evening performance must be a masterpiece. On the whole, audiences for the matinees are smaller than those for the evening performances, so confident and competent apprentices can volunteer to be vocal leaders to practice in matinees.

In general, the evening performance must be masterly, thus apprentices only have opportunities to be vocal leaders for practical training in matinees.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

In fact, there were smaller audiences in matinees than evening performances, so that confident and competent apprentices could volunteer to be vocal leaders for their practices. The master could focus on his main show in the evening. Yet, no matter how lovely puppets are and how practiced puppeteers are, merely considered to gild refined gold and to paint the lily. Only with a good vocal leader, the performance of Hand Puppetry can be substantially gripping.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Nevertheless, there have never really been specific training courses for any troupes of Hand Puppetry. In fact, there is a proverb among Hand Puppetry troupes, which says that ‘people who are unabashed can have it all’ (HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP07, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). Apprentices in Hand Puppetry troupes always learn skills themselves, and only occasionally ask their masters and senior performers what to do. If apprentices are too shy to ask, they could lose many opportunities to find buried treasure (others’ experience). In other words, apprentices need to be more positive to learn more techniques.

Correspondingly, there are no specialised schools which offer training courses to develop hand puppeteers. Some primary schools may invite experienced performers of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry to teach pupils (Fig. 7.12) if they are subsidised to seed the education of arts and humanities. In addition, pupils must simultaneously learn how to speak the Taiwanese dialect; otherwise, more and more youngsters will only be able to speak Mandarin. Although Mandarin is the official language of Taiwan, the Taiwanese dialect (Southern Fujian language) is used in both Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry. Thus, enunciation is a particularly high requirement for both of these performing arts (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP08, Male, Head of Troupe).





Figure 7.12 Master of Hand Puppetry is teaching pupils

### 7.3 MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

#### *7.3.1 Integration of East-Western elements*

In terms of ‘Refined Taiwanese Opera’, troupes initially stressed plots which were literal and theatrical, and thus, the themes tended to be intercultural and hybrid, adapted from Western musicals and Shakespearian dramas, or reinterpretations of Oriental legends and historical stories (see also Yang, 2002: 168). In addition to the traditional stringed instruments of Wen Chang and traditional percussion instruments of Wu Chang, Chinese music orchestral accompaniments were applied to performances (Cheng, 2001). Moreover, several types of music were re-arranged into a fusion. Particular emphasis was placed on the design of costumes, stages and lighting, and a lot of technological visual and sound effects were used. It

is worth noting that troupes adopted some of the concepts of modern theatre. They invited directors to take charge of determining scores, designing postures, arranging music, and planning the stage, and the entire performance was based on the score and conducted by the director (Yang, 2002), which takes the place of the former 'Xi-Xiansheng' (play teacher).

When we prepare the performance, we would invite a director to guide us. The director would show us how to act and posture according to different situations and characters. We do have a lot of commutations so as to present in excellent condition.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

In rehearsal, the director taught us how to interact among all performances. Through designing by the director, we have to practice repeatedly and adjust every fault to perform perfectly.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

Furthermore, 'Luo-Gu-Dian' has been traditionally applied to background music. Since 1965, records gradually became popular, while Western, Hollywood and Japanese music took over 'Luo-Gu-Dian'. Following this, Chinese and Taiwanese popular songs were used as incidental music (Chiang, 1995). In addition, a few Hand Puppetry troupes have performed successfully in theatres during recent years, breaking the frame of Hand Puppetry by not hiding behind the stage but interacting with the audience. They have begun to work in concert with symphonic or Chinese music orchestras.



What you are listening is a theme of Japanese anime ‘Saint Sanya’ as background music.

(HP03, Male, Puppeteer)

During this Lunar New Year festival, one of the Hand Puppetry troupes held a symphony concert. We will team up with a Chinese music orchestra in our coming theatre performance. We are very happy to see people intend to have Hand Puppetry refined.

(HP06, Male, Puppeteer)

### *7.3.2 Emergence of innovative models*

As stated in Section 5.3, Hand Puppetry was brought in to Taiwan by immigrants from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in Fujian Province of China in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Kuo, 2005: 91). As time went by, Hand Puppetry has gone through different phases, being played on outdoor stages for amusement, festive celebrations and religious events, on theatre indoor stages for commercial activities, on the radio and on television. With the evolution of traditional plots adapted from historical stories and chapters of novels, Hand Puppetry has derived Golden Light Hand Puppetry, more light and sound effects being added and martial arts chivalry appearing (Chiang, 1995). Then, Hand Puppetry was integrated with media (e.g. radio, television, film) (Chen, 2007). Remarkably, Golden Light Hand Puppetry has been introduced to broader TV audience since 1962 (Chen, 2007). Thereafter, TV Hand Puppetry

has brought about a new era. Nevertheless, the fraternity of Hand Puppetry argues that TV Hand Puppetry relies on scene setting, editing and post-production, which would be regarded as a type of animation instead of archetypal Hand Puppetry. The general understanding is that TV puppeteers are likely incapable of performing live owing to that they are used to doing TV projects and are not required to do it live all at once.

When talking about TV Hand Puppetry, the films are edited. For example, some takes require the action of jumping down, and if the action is not good, it can be repeated. I was a TV puppeteer for 2 or 3 years. It takes roughly one and a half months to produce a one-hour Hand Puppetry TV programme.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Although some people criticise TV Hand Puppetry, it forms a unique and creative culture in Taiwan. The characters of TV Hand Puppetry attract various fans, mainly from the younger generation, and female fans in particular are very fond of ‘COSplay’ (a portmanteau of ‘costume’ and ‘play’) and like to dress up as their puppet idols (Silvio, 2005). TV Hand Puppetry has led to a new model of creative industry for traditional troupes. Moreover, fans and collectors make up much of the market share of related products (Figs. 5.13-14) (e.g. videos/DVDs, role puppets, costumes and accessories, action figures/action dolls, mobile phones).

About three or four months after performing in the theatre, we would have DVDs of the show released. The costumes of puppets are produced by me. TV Hand Puppetry has been transformed into anime to attract young people. Many ladies would like to buy clothes in real-life size which I made for their COSplay.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

I used to buy puppet hats from others, but they broke the deal without giving me the puppet hats after they received my down payment. Therefore, I decided to make and design puppet hats by myself. Those puppet hats were used for my own troupe and later on my puppet hats were sold to others. At the very beginning, I did it just for my own interest. Then, it became my full-time job. I have done this job for a long time since 1982.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)



Figure 7.13 Action dolls of Hand Puppetry



Figure 7.14 Mobile phone of Hans Puppetry

As mentioned, Hand Puppetry has gone through three stages with eight periods and

formed traditional and golden-light types of performances. Continuingly, certain troupes take advantage of elements from other operas or drama - they introduced Sichuan Opera's 'Bian-Lian' (face-changing) to present acrobatics when manipulating puppets - changing 8 to 12 masks in a few seconds. In fact, 'Bian-Lian' used to be regarded as a secret performing technique of national importance in China. However, some profit-seeking performances of Sichuan Opera sold the trick to outsiders without national authority permission (GOV.CN, 2006). Certain respondents revealed that they spent some money to approach skills of face changing, which is easy to obtain now (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe). On the one hand, such traditional performing arts have become 'kitsch' variety shows; on the other hand, specific and rare arts and skills can be enhanced by other means.

## 7.4 PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

### *7.4.1 Gap of human resource*

Previously, the children of troupe heads used to inherit the business, but today, performers/artists do not compel their children to enter the same field. As already mentioned, most of the apprentices used to come from poor families, and they were poorly educated, so they were easily absorbed into the troupes. However, this phenomenon does not hold today because of economic improvement and universal education. It takes years to learn these skills,

and most juniors have to pursue their studies at school. Although they may be very interested in Taiwanese Opera or Hand Puppetry, their families worry whether or not their children can make a good living as artists in the future. Therefore, juniors do not choose this road, which means that the artistry is not passed on to the next generation (HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe; HP11, Male, Head of Troupe).

Some participants forecast that small-scale Taiwanese Opera troupes may merge to become large groups, and that this will be the final outcome of most traditional troupes of Taiwanese Opera (TO01, Male, Head of Troupe; TO03, Male, Staff, TO07, Male, Teacher). However, the same solution can hardly work for different Hand Puppetry troupes. Firstly, most Hand Puppetry troupes are somehow self-admiring, assuming themselves to be the best. Secondly, there is only one vocal leader in a Hand Puppetry troupe, so there would be a conflict if two vocal leaders tried to co-exist. Lastly, Taiwanese Opera performers are real people who can act as various characters. However, every Hand Puppetry troupe has its own puppet heroes/roles, particularly in Golden Light Hand Puppetry troupes, and these are used to identify the troupe (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP06, Male, Puppeteer). Therefore, combining troupes may fail because of these leadership issues.

#### *7.4.2 Deficiency of resources and vicious competition*

Although puppeteers are able to form their own troupes after finishing their

apprenticeship/training, not everyone has adequate financial support to establish a new troupe.

As a result, some people may give up on their dreams, or can only establish a tiny troupe with a few members. Moreover, it is obvious that many existing troupes are in a predicament without complete resources, so they share stage properties with one another and hire part-time staff when they have large-scale performances (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe).

Since the end of the heyday of indoor-stage performances of Hand Puppetry, numerous artists sought another way out. Some of them told stories and decided to record their vocals onto cassette tapes for release, promoting them to general fans, who could rarely see the indoor shows again. However, some senior artists were resigned to the fact that this was a significant problem. One of the respondents revealed:

The decision to kill hand puppeteers was made by the puppeteers themselves. Anyone, even a vendor in front of a temple, can play tapes and have puppets swaying, but he does not have a so-called ‘meaty sound’ (live vocal) to mimic and present the different characters of puppets.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

For competition, some people reduced the cost to do more shows, while clients only care about lower prices instead of good quality. Therefore, most other hand puppeteers could not compete for jobs without cutting their prices, which eventually resulted in an uneven quality

of performance and a price war (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe; HP11, Male, Head of Troupe). This caused a vicious circle, and more and more hand puppeteers have become unable to make reasonable profits to sustain themselves.

In addition to the training within troupes, some artists may participate in community education, with sponsors such as community associations or temple committees. There are various options of applied training courses. However, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are chosen for transmission to local communities because these two types of traditional performing arts remind some inhabitants of their childhood and reflect a common cultural memory (RP01, Female, Chief of Association). As a result, similar to those in primary schools, such workshops will not be held as long as there is a lack of subsidies, and will be concluded without any concrete result.

#### *7.4.3 Negative attitudes toward performances*

There is a manifest fact that most members in Taiwanese Opera troupes tend to keep late hours after their evening performances. As already mentioned in Section 7.2.1, sometimes they have performances in various places, moving on to the next venues after evening shows. When they arrive, it is often late, but they still have things to do. After everything has been done, they cannot sleep until the morning (TO04, Female, Performer). Some performers have a nightlife from the late evening till the early morning. For those reasons, they will not get up

until 1 or 2 o'clock the next afternoon. After waking up, they have to prepare the matinees, so that they have rare opportunities to practice ahead. All performers are present on the stage without coordinating each other. Their performances are not expected to be elaborate. Consequently, certain performers gradually have a lack of practice and progress (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe).

In the past, performers of performing arts did not deserve high reputations and had little socio-economic status. Most people deemed them to be lowbrow and called them 'beastly players' instead of 'artists' to debase their value. In fact, there were certain performers had addictions in their private lives (e.g. smoking, drinking, gambling, etc), which may have caused discrimination and hasty generalisation (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher). Such a bias exists more or less in this modern society (TO01, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). However, when those artists pass on their skills and experiences, they become teachers. It is noteworthy that the 'teacher' in some extent means the educator and moralist in Chinese/Taiwanese society, who deserves a high degree of respect and reverence. Therefore, this sense of honour can be a positive reinforcement to be devoted to transmission.

I have always been promoting Hand Puppetry. In fact, being performers in the past, most people did look up to us with adequate politeness. I am now teaching at schools and students respectfully call me 'Teacher' or 'Master', that is what I want. People



respect my career means respecting me. Therefore, I am happy to persuade some other troupes advance their levels.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

#### *7.4.4 Decrease of audiences*

As well as artists' advancement, the sense of appreciation of public audience is vital and needed to be cultivated. Some practitioners of traditional performing arts argued that most audiences always want to see free shows, but do not even know how to appreciate performances.

Since the past years, I have always heard audiences say that there is no juvenile performer in our troupe. They do not care about our skills but want to see young beauties. We are very frustrated by this situation.

(TO04, Female, Staff/Performer)

In the past, we were rewarded because of our excellent puppet performances. But now, reversely, performers have to reward audiences and please them to see the performances. Sometimes, they just come for prizes. It is sad and frustrated me a lot.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Furthermore, performers of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry do not use Mandarin, even though it is the official language of Taiwan. Instead, they speak Taiwanese, which is considered to be the most widely-spoken dialect in Taiwan, as indicated earlier. However, it seems that increasingly, young people cannot speak the Taiwanese dialect, or cannot speak it

very well. Gradually, innumerable dulcet phraseologies and brilliant connotations of the Taiwanese dialect have passed into oblivion. If a prospective audience is unable to understand the profound meanings of the Taiwanese dialect, they can hardly appreciate and interpret its beauty and value in depth. As a result, older scenarios and librettos of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry have become scarce (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP08, Male, Head of Troupe).

## 7.5 CONCLUSION

In earlier times, apprentices were recruited from needy families, being bound to troupes by contract. Their apprenticeship lasted for more or less three and a half years, in which time they performed sundry duties. In respect of their training in troupes, they mainly obtained skills randomly through self observation and repeated practice. They were required to learn basic motions and postures, arias and lines, to perform in Taiwanese Opera. In addition, the apprentice's ultimate target to become a puppeteer involved manipulating puppets to perform actions, and learning how to be solely responsible for the vocal leader. Since the traditional apprenticeship system in troupes no longer exists, some other approaches have been introduced. For example, Taiwanese Opera is taught in specialised colleges, school clubs, and community associations, and trainees of Hand Puppetry share most learning sources,

excluding professional departments.

Moreover, in recent years, some troupes have made efforts to refine their performances of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry by merging cross-cultural aspects, including music, drama, and costume, staged with traditional manifestations. Furthermore, they have aspired to increase the value of relevant cultural industries. However, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry encounter knotty problems in transmission. Although the Taiwanese dialect is used as the main language in performances, younger people can barely speak it fluently, and this results in a barrier between expressing and understanding the inner meaning of entire plots. In addition, a lack of successors and the end of older artists may prevent the handing down of skills, and if performers in particular can hardly afford to make a living, they have no alternative but to work in other occupations.

Due to a loss of human resources, the scale and development of troupes have altered. Smaller Taiwanese Opera troupes require numerous members, and it is therefore presumed that they will be combined to form big groups which will monopolise the market. In the case of Hand Puppetry troupes, they usually vie with each other for glamour and fame, so it is difficult for them to come together. If they cannot outshine other troupes, they will be downgraded. Some civil organisations and official authorities promote the teaching and training of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry as traditional performing arts. However,

some activities cannot be sustained because of a lack of subsidies. Accordingly, relevant issues (e.g. cultural policies, implementation of authorities) will be discussed in Chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 8

### POLITICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

#### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the implementation by competent authorities will be demonstrated while certain administrative problems will be revealed. Furthermore, this chapter will also seek to understand the expectations of practitioners and indicate the operations between them and competent authorities. The findings will reflect the strength and weakness of Taiwan's achievements in safeguarding intangible heritage in order to inform its cultural policy-making.

#### 8.2 IMPLEMENTATIONS OF SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

##### *8.2.1 Practices of designation*

According to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, the statutory procedure for the registration and preservation of Traditional Arts consists of an investigation, collection, classification, research, promotion, preservation, maintenance and teaching. For instance, the Kaohsiung City Government's Bureau of Cultural Affairs began to conduct general surveys on Traditional Arts (traditional arts and crafts, and performing arts) in 2006. The Bureau

began by conducting a general survey on traditional arts and crafts. After an investigation and review, it successfully promoted the registration of 6 artists in 2008. Furthermore, in 2009, the Bureau conducted a general survey of the performing arts. Interviews with these troupes and artists were scheduled in 2010 (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). The competent authority invited scholars and experts, who were investigators and members of review committee, to help with the concrete work.

In the beginning, the Bureau chose troupes and artists from collected data and conducted interviews. The CCA had created specific forms which listed some appraisal items. The investigators established survey forms to collect the basic details, professional specialities, experience (e.g. representative work, awards, publications, performances, teaching, etc.), and the current situation of these troupes and artists. Having obtained a rough idea of the troupes and artists, the administrators were able to evaluate those who were eligible for registration, and when they had passed the initial review, the committee members would interview them using an open questionnaire to assess them further in a second investigation. Then, having been approved by the review committee, these troupes and artists could be registered as intangible heritage in the Traditional Arts (OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

However, because of this bureaucratic form, the criteria for intangible heritage are fairly

vague. Since determining the potential for registration is subjective and difficult to quantify, the administrators have consulted scholars and experts, who argue that, from the perspective of the central competent authorities, those troupes and artists which have features of 'artistry', 'uniqueness' and 'locality' are more likely to be selected. However, although some items might not have outstanding value as artistry, they do possess uniqueness to identify their character and traditional significance, thus can be designated (OA03, Female, Official Administrator). In addition, the review committee would think highly of their authenticity, which means the extent to which they preserve tradition, rather than considering their innovation. For example, plain hand puppets and old plots, which are simply traditional, are considered to be intangible heritage. When the committee members undertook field investigation to understand these troupes and artists in depth, they arranged interviews to acquire more details. If the troupes and artists were rehearsing, the committee would observe their performance. Sometimes, official staff accompanied the scholars and experts during the whole process. If there was nothing available to view, the committee would examine paper documents or other materials, such as videos (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). Certainly, the committee members were supposed to be objective and comment fairly (HP09, Male, Puppeteer). Some of adjudicators were theoretical, but some of them were practical experts who really understood the ecosystem of the performing arts in Taiwan (HP07, Male,

Head of Troupe). However, practitioners never knew the criteria of designation.

#### *8.2.2 Registration and follow-up*

Having submitted a potential list of Traditional Arts, the central competent authority designates Significant Traditional Arts for registration. The CCA undertakes to record the preservers and launches teaching activities to promote and pass on the skills of registered artists. However, the central competent authority is supposed to sponsor the troupes and artists registered by the CCA, which means that the local authorities are responsible for the intangible heritage they register. Some registered artists receive a subsidy of tens of thousands of NTDs from the CCA as living expenses, so that they can concentrate more on developing and passing on their skills. The central competent authority does not usually register more than five people in each classification, not because there is a rule which limits the number, but because the more artists that are registered, the more responsibility the authority has to take, and this would involve financial issues (OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

At the national level, the BOCH has been carrying out a plan of preservation and maintenance. Currently, only the central authority can continue to provide the relevant courses and invite artists to teach, which occupies more resources than other safeguarding work (OA03, Female, Official Administrator). Some are also sponsored by civil business organisations or other sources. However, local competent authorities aim to achieve the same



objectives, depending on their administrative resources. They focus on certain registered artists and hold workshops for them. For example, they always hold workshops on drawing traditional coloured decoration, and the relevant artists are invited to provide a detailed explanation and demonstration of their work. The local governments also invite primary school teachers to attend these workshops so that they can share their experience. This is meant to acquaint the teachers with this traditional craft so that they can enlighten their students with more insightful knowledge. Moreover, these workshops do not only benefit the public, but also certain administrative staff. If they encounter a problem with administrative affairs, they can express their opinions at a higher level, particularly when they attend the CCA workshops. The host collects their feedback and reports it to the central authority to consider a reform of the legislation in line with the feedback (OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

### 8.3 PROBLEMS OF PRACTICALITY

During the process of designation, registration, promotion, and transmission, the competent authorities may confront some issues, which could be generated by cultural policies, individuals and traditional arts organisations, or themselves. These can often be inter-related, inter-influenced, and inter-restricted.

### *8.3.1 Interaction and understanding*

Most traditional arts troupes are financially deficient and need government subsidies to a greater or lesser degree. However, some troupes have never applied for any official subsidies because they have insufficient resources and lack paperwork and computer literacy. For instance, some troupes argue that they are not familiar with the application process and do not know how to write a proposal. They have no video recorder to make documentary records (TO03, Male, Staff), but, when they applied for a subsidy to develop, they were required to use some materials such as DVDs. Since they were seeking funds because they lacked resources, they could hardly be expected to have the money to produce a good quality video representation of their work. In addition, they needed to show awards they had been given or contributions, but of course they never had the proper equipment to enter a competition, let alone win one (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). In fact, the central and local competent authorities have long been aware of these problems, and they have provided some guidance and counselling on how to apply for budgets and how these troupes and artists can sort out their scattered documents. Every year, the National Culture and Arts Foundation (NCAF) holds courses and notifies arts and culture organisations through local competent authorities. The NCAF aims to teach applicants how to complete the relevant forms (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). In addition, this is not only a necessary application procedure, but it

is also a record of the troupe. When trying to record and preserve intangible heritage, the relevant people can learn about the long and distant history of these troupes (OA01, Male, Official Administrator).

It is noteworthy that numerous troupes and artists argue that sometimes reviews and examinations are not fair, and they never know the required standards. Some indicate lower levels of satisfaction with official administrators or review committee members. They speculate that the governmental selection of subsidy funds is not brought open and fair. For example, sometimes when troupes fail in their application and want to know how to improve, governmental officers say that the results cannot be revealed. Thus, they have begun to question the procedures. Sometimes governments publicly declare that they invite applications, but do not state the required criteria. This makes it particularly hard to know how the central competent authority operates.

It is apparent that specific troupes are selected to be subsidised every year, and this makes other applicants feel bitter and disappointed. Accordingly, doubt is unavoidably cast on these non-transparent review processes. It is implied in particular that certain committee members show ‘goodwill’ to these troupes and offer to be their ‘consultants’ for an exchange of benefits. Without this, the applications made by these troupes would fail to be submitted to the central competent authority (TO04, Female, Staff/Performer). Their fraternity also reveals

that they sometimes rely on interpersonal relationships to obtain subsidies (HP09, Male, Puppeteer). They are hoping that all judgments are fair, impartial, and open; however, at the very least, they want to know their advantages and disadvantages, and would like more audiences to have the opportunity to evaluate their work (HP06, Male, Puppeteer).

In response to the hearsay and unfavourable experiences, the administrators of one local bureau stated that there is nothing unfair, at least in their sector, and inferred that such criticism was merely conjecture. The committee members made their decision mainly by consulting written documents. Successfully subsidised troupes often presented exceptional applications, and some troupes may have failed to be chosen because of a lack of ability to present good paperwork. In addition, one of the difficulties in registration was that some troupes may suppose that they are the best. Therefore, the competent authorities had to be very careful when dealing with this issue. The troupes they register should be generally acknowledged as being exceptional to avoid controversy (OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

### *8.3.2 Allocation of relevant resources*

As already mentioned, in addition to the registration, recording, and preservation of intangible heritage, transmission is another challenging task. However, financial problems have existed for years. Most local authorities currently have no ongoing plan or project due to budgetary

constraints. They cannot accomplish anything further and are unable to subsidise local troupes and artists (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). Again, due to the deficiency of cultural budgets, the subsidies for cultural troupes and artists have unavoidably been reduced. The government offers meagre subsidies but expects troupes to do something better. Sometimes, if the amount is too little to put on a public performance, the good intention of subsidising troupes and artists causes them a dilemma (TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher). They have to pay the excess fees themselves, and if they want to produce an excellent quality performance, it is tough to compensate for the economic deficiency. For example, the subsidy may only be NTD 100,000 (about £2,000), which means that the troupe makes a loss of NTD 150,000 (about £3,000) because putting on a performance costs at least NTD 250,000 (about £5,000). This results in the situation that the more chance troupes have to obtain a subsidy, the more money they lose (TO01, Male, Head of Troupe). Once in a while the troupes have a chance to travel abroad to perform, but the government sponsors flight tickets and accommodation fees only. The troupes have to pay for their other expenses, causing a huge financial burden; thus, they would rather relinquish the opportunities (HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP06, Male, puppeteer; HP12, Female, Staff).

It is emphasised again that sometimes such limited resources cannot be allocated averagely because subsidies are always given to some of the same selective troupes (TO01,

Male, Head of Troupe). For example, there is well-known and successful Taiwanese Opera troupe which has ample administrative resources. Yet because their troupe leader has established a very good relationship with the Council of Cultural Affairs, they obtain a bigger budget, have the opportunity to perform to large audiences, and have their overall numbers of projects commissioned by the CCA. Thus, it is evident that these administrative resources are partially assigned (TO03, Male, Staff).

### *8.3.3 Restrictions of official administration*

The central competent authority greatly advocates its policies; nonetheless, the public sector are not clear of all the policies, and most administrators prefer to focus on older and aged artists rather than those who are ‘living’ and vital (OA01, Male, Official Administrator). Yet, according to the concept of Living Human Treasure (UNESCO, 2012d), this may be an illusion. Even if the administrators in charge of specific affairs understand the policies, some commissioners and committee members may not have a clear idea of them, and since some committee members are scholars and experts, who may not thoroughly appreciate the relevant laws, this leads to them having different views (OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

As well as unclear concepts, other difficulties are encountered when administrators undertake duties in the public sector. These include stereotyped processes and heavy burdens of public affairs, little dissemination of information to the public and poor

inter-communication among public institutions. Sometimes the public sector and private co-operators clash when they are implementing public affairs; for example, preferred co-operators who are good at coordination are not assigned, or perhaps civil business organisations are suspected of profiteering. They must avoid violating the Government Procurement Law and cooperate with the bid winners. Sometimes, co-operators simply implement projects based on the available finance; yet, cultural affairs cannot be operated to the same standardised procedures as engineering. It is difficult to regulate these co-operators and negotiate with them. In fact, some in the public sector may restrict the bidding with the official approval of the commissioner. This is still legal, but only few official administrators act in this way. Therefore, the limitations imposed on the government by its accounting system may make it slightly difficult to promote cultural affairs (OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

Although the competent authorities sometimes produce educational activities or symposiums for the relevant public sector staff to promote the concept of intangible cultural heritage, these are never widely publicised. Messages are usually posted on official websites, information is released to the public sector and schools, but official administrators can barely guarantee that they are available to attend every activity. Attendants at activities always have a significant interest in the related field and are willing to participate on a regular basis, while

most members of the general public only acquire a rough idea and are rather lukewarm about attending (OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

There is another problem in that the public sector cannot monitor every activity over the long term. Whenever they start a task, another will intervene; therefore, the schedules are always delayed. In addition, there is a lack of horizontal ties between different departments. Units rarely contact each other, so they do not always know which unit is in charge of which affairs. Also, organisational change fails to guarantee the continuity of projects. Interestingly, staff in charge of relevant affairs are changed frequently and the successors are reluctant to adopt or continue former policies and projects. These successors will not confirm that everything has been achieved by their predecessors. As a result, they always try to start new projects. For example, someone was in charge last year but was transferred to another sector, so a new member of staff this year has to learn the routine from the beginning. Thus, the continuity of relevant affairs is feeble and time is unavoidably spent repeating various tasks (OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

Nonetheless, during the process of the promotion and registration of intangible heritage, some troupes and artists were not placed on file and registered by the local government, and a few troupes disappeared or were simply remembered by name. Therefore, the number of troupes and artists of traditional arts were underestimated. On a positive note, the public



sector generated surveys to discover these troupes, but more passively; others were simply expected to turn up. Then, the local competent authorities would call them and arrange a survey and interview (OA01, Male, Official Administrator).

#### 8.4 SCOPE FOR PRACTITIONERS

The competent authorities designate Traditional Arts as intangible heritage, which is considered to be valuable, outstanding, distinguishing, and needed to be safeguarded. They selected participated troupes and artists from surveys and reviews, resulting in ‘winners’ to be promoted and registered. Based on those qualifications, the process is somewhat like a competition. It might cause groups with more resources to present higher quality and come to the fore. However, how good is good enough and what speciality is really special? How to determine their ‘quality’ is always a controversial issue. It is nevertheless unavoidable to recognise and explore intangible heritage through such official operations and approvals in the stage of appreciation intangible heritage. Otherwise, it would be hard to administer (Hafstein, 2009).

Therefore, most practitioners expect the authorities to allocate some time to practically, thoroughly, and sustainably understand the ecology of local arts and culture teams and artists, rather than simply reviewing documents in an office. Perhaps the investigators who conduct

the surveys and interviews should engage in the ordinary performances regularly, rather than providing a paper-based judgment based on a short audition:

The government should implement and develop cultural affairs gradually, particularly in view of its limited cultural budget.

(OA01, Male, Official Administrator)

The competent authorities should subsidise those who really pay great attention to management, and the contents of the review should include equipment, number of members, and the integration of a troupe.

(HP05, Male, Head of Troupe)

A few troupes act in a negative fashion; yet, they pretend to be decent when committee members review their performances. By the same token, when they are interviewed they are considered to be good. Therefore, the competent authorities would do well to conduct their investigations openly and secretly. For example, the committee members do not inform those troupes that they will go to see their performances in advance.

(HP10, Male, Head of Troupe)

The complement authorities would better use limited budgets appropriately to determine which troupes are innovative or capable to be intangible heritage. Above all, they must understand the ecology of groups of performing arts thoroughly and continuingly.

(OA01, Male, Official Administrator)

Furthermore, to avoid being unfair and preventing anything suspicious being perpetrated by troupes and artists, practitioners hope the government will build mutual trust in the

relationship, establishing specific platforms to cultivate troupes and artists by different categories and tiers (HP07, Male, Head of Troupe) as well as balancing the resource management (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP04, Male, Puppeteer), refraining from providing monopoly groups with subsidies (TO03, Male, Staff ; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe), and openly stating and declaring the standards and results of examinations (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; HP06, Male, puppeteer). In response to practitioners' problems, Table 8.1 illustrates what coping strategies competent authorities have provided to support them.

<b>Practitioners' difficulties and problems</b>	<b>Solutions and coping strategies</b>
Certain troupes lack paperwork and computer literacy in the paper application of subsidies.	The government has launched courses to guide applicants to deal with the forms.
Some troupes have inadequate resources to produce well-presented materials.	The committee members should investigate artists' skills (e.g. arias and postures, puppet manipulations) in practice rather than paper-base examination.
Numerous troupes question the criteria and fairness of the section.	The implementers of relevant affairs may consider disclosing the results and comments officially.
Provided that troupes are subsidised with a meagre amount of money, it could be a dilemma instead of a support.	The central authority shall confront the issues of budget deficiency and balance the distribution reasonably.

Table 8.1 Coping strategies in support of practitioners of performing arts

In the past, cultural affairs were conducted by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, but now the Council for Cultural Affairs is the central authority (OA01, Male, Official Administrator). In addition, there were theatre associations in some counties or cities. However, numerous artists argued that those should not be helped due to their corruption or inactivity. The local

Bureaus of Cultural Affairs has taken the place of theatre associations, which are more functional (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe). In that case, referring to subordinate villages, towns, and districts, it is ideal to have better, relevant, organisations dedicated to a few troupes with fewer resources, assign reasonable resources to those troupes, and provide them with subsidies and opportunities to perform (HP07, Male, Head of Troupe; TO03, Male, Staff). Simultaneously, governments and civil business organisations should support the establishment of specific schools for different traditional performing arts (HP06, Male, Puppeteer).

In spite of listing intangible heritage as not really inclusive and biased, to some extent, doing so can promote parts of local characters. The locality reveals the efforts made by regional practitioners. For instance, although some operas originated from mainland China, they have been developed in Kaohsiung for a very long time. As such, they have lasted for many years and devoted much effort into becoming typical local characters. Nevertheless, a limited number of people are attracted to the promotion of Taiwanese traditional arts, partly because this has been seen as a domestic market for years. Therefore, the government should highlight the locality of the troupes and artists and explore a wider audience, including attracting more tourists to develop a broader market (HP06, Male, puppeteer; OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator). For example, Kaohsiung

International Puppet Festival was launched a number of years ago and has invited worldwide troupes and performers to join. This can encourage tourism and the local economy - increasing job opportunities and sightseeing incomes - as well as the identification of such performing arts as a representative feature. Somehow the government pays less attention to obscure troupes which do not know how to increase their exposure rate (TO03, Male, Staff). Hence, it is vital to develop the confidence of those troupes as well as encourage them to pass on their skills. This requires the provision of advanced lessons (e.g. organisation management, creative edification and internet skills) to develop interested troupes.

Implementing cultural affairs on intangible heritage has different administrative levels; of course these are not a successive progress. Fundamentally, the government will cultivate people's cultural perspectives and aesthetic sensibilities at their root education. This influence will be unobtrusive and imperceptible, taking a long time (OA03, Female, Official Administrator). Additionally, the competent authorities shall establish a platform and subsidise relevant recourses to support cultural organisations and artists, offering an environment of creation and renovation as an operating mechanism, along with examining their needs thoroughly, rather than anticipating those practitioners meeting official requirements (HP07, Male, Head of Troupe). In particular, different political objectives should not interfere in the continuity of cultural construction and development. Furthermore,

the proper registration of intangible heritage should be the identification and integration of what is the most representative impressions and expressions that shall be preserved and safeguarded (OA01, Male, Official Administrator).

Hence, the government may enhance aesthetic education as a foundation, developing intangible heritage and maintaining the equilibrium of official administrative demands and practitioners' needs. As mentioned, safeguarding intangible heritage is not only 'preservation' (Yoshida, 2004), it is a dynamic and living subsistence and transmission is the real intention rather than registering intangible heritage into a resplendent treasure list.

## 8.5 CONCLUSION

From a statutory perspective, the practice involves investigation, collection, classification, research, promotion, preservation, maintenance and teaching. Kaohsiung City Government is one example of a local competent authority which launches relevant projects. The Bureau invites scholars and experts to investigate and review the troupes and artists in Kaohsiung city, and the local competent authority refers to the results of a general survey to determine which troupe or artist has the potential to register. Then, the committee members arrange an interview with candidates to make a final decision. After having registered the designated troupes or artists, both the central and local competent authorities launch activities and

subsidise them. However, because they have different budgets, only the central authority can host a series of educational courses. Since local governments do not have excess funds, they are merely able to hold promotional activities and a few workshops.

When the central or local governments implement cultural affairs, such as reviewing the value of traditional arts, there may be some difficulties or complaints from practitioners of traditional arts, as well from the public sector themselves. Most troupes and artists reveal unfair situations and argue that the competent authorities have not paid much attention to their practical performances. Since these troupes and artists are not involved in official activities, it is evident that they and the local governments lack frequent interaction and a deep understanding of each other. Therefore, the government should establish a mechanism of mutual trust with cultural teams.

Cultural development, preservation, and transmission require the support of a considerable budget. According to the interview results, most individuals and organisations need subsidies. Some participants even argued that certain specific troupes are wealthy, but they still obtain more financial resources. This phenomenon reveals that the allocation of resources is unbalanced. If the general budget can be increased, some tasks may be driven with less economic worries. In particular, governments should allocate their limited resources sensibly, and implement public affairs efficiently and accurately to avoid unnecessary waste.

However, certain troupes and artists lack reading and writing literacy, and are not good at dealing with administrative affairs, and this may make it difficult for them to apply for governmental subsidies. Furthermore, if they are fortunate enough to receive official sponsorship, the amount of money is insufficient to cover their expenditure. Thus, it may become a burden instead of a help. The survey of current practitioners of traditional arts is extremely comprehensive. The range of targets is too wide and time and human resources are limited. Practitioners suggested that the local authority should employ practitioners with more depth, time and knowledge to conduct various projects.

When designating intangible heritage, the issue of criteria has been a controversial one. Particularly, various troupes have doubted the objectivity and fairness of the selections and would rather not apply for the subsidies. Comparatively, the competent authorities presumed that the majority of troupes supposed themselves are best. Therefore, clarifying the concept, broadening the knowledge, and realising the present ecology of local arts and culture organisations will help the central and local competent authorities to better implement public policy. Further issues will be discussed or raised in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 9

### DEEPER DISCOURSES AND WIDER PERSPECTIVES

#### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

Following on from the previous investigation of Taiwan's intangible heritage in the performing arts, an investigation which employed conceptual, practical, educational, and political perspectives, this chapter will highlight crucial issues and highlight further discourses as contributions to enrich the evolving debate with respect to intangible heritage, with the hope of stimulating further studies on related themes and of similar scope. Section 9.2 will provide potential selections for inventorying intangible heritage. Following that, gender discourses will help to interpret the physiology of roles and influences on the public. In latter sections, organisational management, economic supplements, and innovative development will reflect on the impact of changing circumstances. Moreover, there will be a review of the systems of transmission and the achievements of the relevant authorities.

#### 9.2 RECOGNITION AND INVENTORY OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Although UNECSO's member states are not forced to recognise all domains of intangible heritage, they are in fact commonly recognised worldwide. In particular, some member states

have conducted inventories for decades (e.g. Japan, Republic of Korea). Moreover, “States are able to choose whether to create a single, over-arching inventory or a set of smaller, more restricted ones”. The requirement is to determine the elements of intangible heritage for the purpose of safeguarding work (UNESCO, 2009d: 5). What is intangible heritage in Taiwan? In recent years, the competent authorities have launched numerous courses or workshops to introduce this concept. However, they mostly deferred to UNESCO’s definition and inventory rather any definition to be found in Taiwan’s Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. As stated in Section 5.3.1, similar to Japan, Taiwan’s inventories of ‘intangible heritage’ can be categorised as Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts, and Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers. There is in fact no clear definition of intangible heritage under the law. Under the circumstances, the competent authorities started registered Traditional Arts as intangible heritage or ‘National Living Treasure’, adopted from the Japanese ‘Ningen Kokuhō’ (Adachi, 1973). The Taiwanese government would like to keep pace with international communities in this respect; but cultural policy seems to be underdeveloped.

What can be involved in Taiwan’s intangible heritage? In theory, Taiwan has taken Japan’s model as a basis and disseminated UNESCO’s concept; in implementation, the authorities have only designated and registered ‘Traditional Arts’ and ‘Folk Customs and

Related Cultural Artefacts' in this area (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). Certain participants have contributed some ideas such as language, knowledge, experiences, etc. Intangible heritage is inclusive (UNESO, 2009b), and its coverage can be broadened to a wider range. For example, beef noodle is a Taiwanese snack that represents Taiwanese dietary culture, in which the night market culture forms a renowned characteristic.

In certain communities, when a Taiwanese person asks, 'Have you had a meal?', that is the start of a conversation, playing the same role as talking about the weather is said to play in Britain. If the answer is negative, you may be invited to be their guest; if positive, an invitation for tea could follow. It is believed that tea is good to cut the grease of a meal. In fact, the health benefits of drinking tea have been recently reported upon (TTNews, 2008). In this sense, it also corresponds to the philosophy of 'harmony', which is an essential element of Chinese and Taiwanese spiritual culture (medical treatments are discussed further in Section 9.5.2). However, these kinds of traditional manners are fading away in modern Taiwanese society.

In terms of Taiwanese beverage culture, the tea (e.g. especially oolong teas such as Dongding and Oriental Beauty) plays a significant role; Taiwanese enjoy making tea for leisure and social activities. In addition, the most well-known drink is pearl milk tea (bubble tea), "which brings together chewy tapioca spheres with all the fragrant aromas of Taiwanese

tea” (MOFA, 2012a). It originated from southern Taiwan in the 1980s (Martin, 2007: 219). At present, Taiwan “has over 50,000 bubble tea shops, serving up to 180 million cups annually. As the popularity of the treat traveled with Taiwanese immigrants, bubble tea shops can now be spotted in over 30 countries”. It is noteworthy that McDonald’s McCafes in Germany has launched the bubble tea line as one of typical Asian drinks starting from 11 June 2012 (Liu, 2012).

There is another case which would be the safeguarding of intangible heritage in Taiwan. In the case of various snacks, Taiwan has provided delicate desserts, too many to list here. Among others, the pineapple cake and the sun cake (maltose pastry) are the two most famous pastries. In the Taiwanese language, the ‘pineapple’ is a homonym for ‘prosperity arrives’, bringing fortune and abundance prosperity (MOFA, 2012b). The sun cake is a specialty of Taichung in central Taiwan. On 13 May 2012, the original bakery which invented the sun cake suddenly went out of business after nearly 60 years, caused by fierce competition and a lack of successors. Many customers felt upset because the taste has been in their mind (FTV, 2012b). Taking account of strong memories and emotions between the bakery and its customers, the same batch of bakers reopened the bakery with the assistance of a former city councillor in the July of 2012 (FTV, 2012a). This shows that the dissemination of intangible heritage is not simply selling those ‘products’ but perpetuating and transmitting cultural

identities, wisdoms, feelings, and memories.

The term ‘intangible heritage’, namely ‘intangible cultural heritage’ (ICH), “is primarily concerned with what people do and how they express themselves within their social context”. Based on this concept, there is another new perspective ‘intangible natural heritage’ (INH) emerging. It describes the intangible elements of the environment combining to create natural objects and embraces “indigenous knowledge of nature and conservation”, including “ethnology, socio-biology and evolution..., ecological foods webs, landscapes, soundscapes, taphonomy, animism, opinions about wildlife in human societies human food security and health, global climate, the conservation movement, taxidermy, bird watching and many others” (Dorfman, 2011: 18). For example, in Taiwan, the “benefits of environmental conservation emerge, a greater range of biodiversity will follow, and more and rarer birds will flock to the sanctuary that is Taiwan”. Taiwan is a paradise for all kinds of birds (TTB, 2011).

‘Natural Landscapes’ has been included as heritage under the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. However, it focuses on material expressions including “natural areas, land formations, plants, or minerals, which are of value in preserving natural environments” (HACH, 2009). Nevertheless, the concept of intangible natural heritage can be considered to be legitimised in the Act. As has been shown, there is potential to increase the inventory and what is covered by intangible heritage. Again, intangible heritage is not limited in the

traditional, chronological, and material framework.

### 9.3 GENDER DISCOURSES ON PERFORMING ARTS

#### *9.3.1 Cross-dressing and effects*

In the 1910s, the amateur performers of ‘Old Gua-ah’ in Yilan were all male farmers, and performed female roles. Therefore, cross-dressing was commonly seen in the performances.

During the period of Japanese rule, there was also male cross-dressing in New Drama because actresses were as yet unavailable (Chen, 1998: 278). From the 1920s, women started to join Taiwanese Opera in growing numbers (Lin, 1999). Under the influence of Japanese Geisha Opera, there were more and more female plays being put on the stage (Lu, 1961: 170). The first two female troupes were established in 1928, and then actresses started to cross-cast male roles (Wang, 1996: 38). After the Second War in 1945, female performers became the majority and acted male leading roles (Xiao Sheng) (Wu, 2001: 21). This trend has continued since the 1950s and there were some famous cross-dressing actresses represented afterwards (Chang, 2000). Moreover, cross-dressing is also seen in Beijing Opera, and we can trace its history back to feudal times. At that moment, women were kept from playing on the stage; therefore, male performers had to act female roles. Since the 1920s, actresses have started to stand out conspicuously (MOC, 2003a). In fact, in European theatre, women were not

accepted to go on the stage until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and performances were male-generated (Li, 2007: 29).

This hermaphroditic character of cross-dressing has a fascinating attraction for certain audiences. Two of participants shared their experiences here:

I personally prefer the male leading role played by my aunt. She is very enchanting whenever she goes on the stage. She is not a beautiful woman but features irresistible charms.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

In my view, some young people are devoted to Taiwanese Opera, and one of reasons is that they are fans of performers in particular Xian Sheng (male leading role portrayed by actresses). Those fans wanted to be staff closing to and supporting their idols. Because of this, a few Xian Shengs are swanky like play boys.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

In some aspects, cross-dressing is an intercultural debate on performing arts worldwide.

Audiences from different countries have diverse reflections. One of practitioners reveals this phenomenon:

According to our interactions with audiences, Western people like Americans and Eastern audiences like Japanese all can understand our performances, even they do not really know the language which we used. However, Americans seem to feel a little bit strange about cross-dressing; for Japanese, this is quite natural because they have similar culture in their performances such as the M. Butterfly played by the geisha.

(TO06, Female Amateur/Teacher)

Therefore, reciprocal perception and consideration for cultural diversity is required in intercultural relations to lead greater understanding among different groups (Lenzerini, 2011).

### *9.3.2 Gender psychology and status*

As already mentioned, ‘Chen San and Wu Niang’, ‘Shan-Bo and Ying-Tai’ (Butterfly Lovers), ‘Lu Meng-Zheng’ and ‘Shi Xi Ji’ (The Groceries Story) are the four most famous repertoires of Taiwanese Opera. The stories are about the pursuit of love where the leading female characters actively go after the leading male leading characters and are consciously independent, regardless of the traditional constraints and the commands of parents and matchmakers (Lin, 2001a: 51). Those plots deeply touch female audiences’ hearts and have become classic pieces of work. In that case, female audiences are the main adherents of Taiwanese Opera. A senior performer indicates his observation about audiences:

I have performed for years, and I found Hand Puppetry has a larger male audience. But, most female audiences like watching Taiwanese Opera because they feel touched by the stories about love or family, which are close to their lives.

(HP02, Male, Head of Troupe)

In terms of the gender disputation in position, Taiwanese Opera has one-sided female performers, whereas Hand Puppetry has more male puppeteers. Therefore, they have done



some jobs that break gender stereotypes. For instance, women have to repair or carry heavy equipment as much as they can. Men have to sew clothes exquisitely for costumes. To some extent, women and men exchange their traditional gender roles in this respect. However, there are certain unbreakable taboos which debase females. In that case, sex equality is a liberal goal that is still difficult because of social values.

## 9.4 CHANGES OF PERFORMING ARTS

### *9.4.1 Variations in the development*

In the past decades, with the influence of circumstances and government policies, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry have undergone diverse shifts (Table 9.1) Taiwanese Opera originated in Yilan and absorbed features of other operas in different aspects. During the progress of its development and dissemination, ‘Luodisao’ was influenced by ‘Jin Ge’, ‘Cai Cha’, and ‘Che Gu’ to form a localised ‘Old Gua-ah’. It also adopted certain advantages of Beijing Opera and Fuzhou Opera to be gradually a full-scale Taiwanese Opera. Similarly, Hand Puppetry was introduced from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, which was called a ‘Longdi Play’ at that time. Then, it was influenced by Nanguan and Beiguan plays to develop successive systems.

Variations	Types	
	Taiwanese Opera	Hand Puppetry
Growth and Localisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Luodisao</li> <li>• Old Gua-ah</li> <li>• Outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Longdi Play</li> <li>• Nanguan Play</li> <li>• Beiguan Hand Puppetry</li> <li>• Ancient Books Play</li> <li>• Swordsmen Play</li> <li>• Outdoor-Stage Hand Puppetry</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indoor-Stage Hand Puppetry</li> </ul>
Political Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Drama</li> <li>• OPERA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japanised Hand Puppetry</li> </ul>
New Media and Modern Techniques	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Radio Taiwanese Opera</li> <li>• Taiwanese Opera Films</li> <li>• TV Taiwanese Opera</li> <li>• Refined Taiwanese Opera</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Golden Light Hand Puppetry</li> <li>• Recording Hand Puppetry</li> <li>• Radio Hand Puppetry</li> <li>• Hand Puppetry Films</li> <li>• TV Hand Puppetry</li> </ul>

Table 9.1 Variations in the development of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry

Because of the Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese Opera formed variants of ‘New Drama’ and ‘O-Pe-La’ (OPERA) to exalt the Japanese spirit for political demands, and Hand Puppetry was likewise ‘Japanised’ by the Kominka Movement. Taking another example of government effect, after Taiwan’s restoration, the KMT once banned people from gathering socially and publicly, which resulted in the stream of performances in indoor theatres and established a flourishing age of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry. However, with the appearances of new media (e.g. radio, television, films) and modern techniques, there were more types of performance generated, such as Golden Light Hand Puppetry and, in particular, TV Hand Puppetry. Meanwhile, audiences had broader choices and turned away from indoor-stage performances. Practitioners hope to make a comeback to a former glory or prosperity;

therefore, refined, intercultural, performances are their strategy.

#### *9.4.2 Living heritage and globalisation*

The effect of globalisation causes alarm as powerful cultures become threaten to a cultural oppressor, overpowering marginal culture (Deacon et al., 2004). In other words, the dynamics of culture and its intercultural contacts and might be broken by the process of globalisation, threatening the transmission of knowledge and knowhow between the generations. Apart from globalisation, colonisation also led to dominant cultures attempting to make uniform minority cultures into stereotyped models and affect the manifestation of diverse groups; thus minorities risked losing their cultural heritage and their social and cultural identity could end up as standardised (Lenzerini, 2011).

As stated in the foregoing subsection, new media impacts the evaluation of traditional performing arts and brings foreign entertainment, information, and culture to audiences. Two of respondents did not mention the term ‘globalisation’, but they noticed that the phenomena of globalisation influenced on cultural identity and traditional forms of performing arts:

When I was teaching at university, I found young people have creativity, but I was wondering what kind of tradition they have. I am only aware of colonial culture from them such as Western music and films. Some young people try to break traditions, but if they have not learnt what tradition is, how can they intend to break tradition? They need to seek the roots and create our unique style of culture.

(TO05, Female, Head of Troupe)

I feel it is required to re-educate young people how to appreciate Hand Puppetry. Many young people like modern TV Hand Puppetry. However, in my opinion, this type of performance is edited and features too many 3D effects. It is rather like the 3D animation instead of the traditional puppet opera. Whenever I criticise TV Hand Puppetry in my lectures, a few students are angry with me. Of course I insist on my principles. If they do not agree with me, we can hardly compromise on this issue.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Apparently, senior performers assume that most audiences of the younger generation have abandoned traditions. However, young people prefer creating and seeking something new. To take the case of TV Hand Puppetry, on the one hand, building a new creative model would inevitably sacrifice something 'old'; on the other hand, there would be more opportunities to attract and retain audiences in the free market mechanism. From the respect of theatre, TV Hand Puppetry is deviating from traditional forms, but not entirely. As living heritage, practitioners can ensure this 'opera' is vital and constant. Yet, it is emphasised again that traditions and innovations are not in opposing positions but require different measures to be determined.

## 9.5 ECONOMIC ECOLOGY IN PERFORMING ARTS

### *9.5.1 Management modes*

For most practitioners of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, to be living and dynamic has been their principle and intention. Regardless of official support and the intervention of civic organisations, these troupes and individuals always try to create their own value while

transforming as variations to accommodate the changing environment and different demands.

Overall, current groups of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry can be divided into commercial-oriented and non-commercial-oriented troupes and artists by their natures (Table 8.2).

<b>Natures</b>	<b>Types</b>	<b>Occasions</b>
Commercial-oriented troupes and artists	Theatre performances	Troupes and artists mainly work for ticket-selling and refined performances.
	Outdoor-stage performances	Troupes and artists usually play for religious fairs and public performances.
	Business entertainment performances	Troupes and artist are invited by civil organisations and enterprises to present entertainment programmes.
Non-commercial-oriented troupes and artists	Amateurs	Amateurs get together for their part-time hobbies. They will perform for religious groups and schools.
	School clubs	Certain artists are invited to teach pupils or university students in heritage and culture education.
	Communities associations	Some community development associations irregularly put on relevant courses for continuing education.

Table 9.2 Forms of current practitioners of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry

For commercial purposes, there are three types of performances by current troupes and artists: theatre/refined performances, outdoor-stage/folk performances, and business entertainment performances. Making profit and earning a living are certainly their objectives (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe).

Some practitioners consider the theatre-based troupe as an ideal model and are attracted towards large-scale performances. If possible, some prefer to stay in outdoor-stage troupes to

gain experience and then move into refined performance troupes (TO04, Female, Performer).

Yet, outdoor-stage performances are commonly seen at present, being used to delight the gods at religious festivals. The opportunities of performance are not ongoing and decline during their low season (TO03, Male, Staff; HP04, Male, Puppeteer), and those performers have to look out for openings.

#### *9.5.2 Behind the performances*

For financial reasons, numerous performers have developed sidelines. For example, the vocal leader of Hand Puppetry is also a storyteller for broadcasts (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe); making costume accessories produces relevant commodities (e.g. puppet hats, headdress, clothes) for performances or for the collections of fans (HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP08, Male, Head of Troupe), which probably became part of the development of creative industries. In particular, some exceptional skills such as clothing embroidery are rarely seen at present, which could be an intangible heritage in craftsmanship as well (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe).

It is noteworthy that in the early periods, itinerant entertainers were selling poultices or medicines while they were performing. As one senior performer revealed:

It was about in the period from 1950s to 1960s, there were some performers of Hand Puppetry performing in the streets and promoting medical products.

(HP08, Male, Head of Troupe)

Through performances, medicine sellers could hook audiences; while watching the shows, audiences could buy some medical treatments as well. Both aspects complemented each other. Certainly, the main purpose was to make profit. Yet, why were entertainers selling medicinal materials rather than groceries? An answer based on this study's findings cannot be provided, but such a kind of tradition may have been introduced by immigrants from China. Furthermore, it is surely the case that people have always sought happiness, wealth, and health, which are also symbols of the three immortals (gods of happiness, prosperity, and longevity). This sense reflects the philosophy of folk culture and social practices and highlights the relationship between the performing arts and beliefs.

In respect to beliefs, people have launched relevant religious events such as temple fairs to thank gods or to worship ghosts in at ghost festivals, inasmuch as people are convinced of spiritual powers in universe and hope to live well under their blessings. This relates to the concept of certain UNESCO member states, in particular non-Western countries, in which religious culture and spiritual beliefs are of significance as intangible heritage in knowledge and practice about nature and the universe.

## 9.6 TRANSMISSION AND SUPPORT

### *9.6.1 Issues of training system*

As already stated, since certain troupes are asked to perform commercially, they do not have time to arrange regular training courses to pass on skills. Accordingly, their practices are in rehearsal.

If we were not busy, we would have regular training weekly. However, due to our tight schedules, we are unavailable to arrange specific time for training. We just conduct rehearsals before formal performances.

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer)

Our performances are almost always on outdoor stages. Our members usually have no ordinary training but crash practice before performances. Sometimes senior artists will randomly show junior members how to act.

(TO03, Male, Staff)

They even go onto outdoor stages with hackneyed performances without gaining ground

(TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; TO05, Female, Head of Troupe).

As far as I am concerned, numerous performers are not required to feature highbrow performances on the outdoor stages. They just dress up beautifully but are unable to play Taiwanese Opera competently.

(TO04, Female, Performer)



On the other hand, some groups are formed due to their interests, such as amateur troupes, school clubs, and communities associations. Being amateurs, they have their own jobs. Unlike commercially-oriented troupes, it is unessential to take performing as a means of livelihood. Therefore, they do not have much pressure to gain an income, except to cover the expenses of running the troupe. Most troupes' members get together because of their interests and hobbies (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe). Due to their part-time attendance, amateur members can hardly learn and practice skills day after day, thus it will take a longer time to foster performers. Regarding school clubs and communities associations, they invite experienced artists to teach students the basics and residents for continuing education in general. These can be held according to budgets without fixed schedules (HP08, Male, Head of Troupe; HP09, Male, Puppeteer; CA01, Female, Community Association Director).

In the training systems of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, being an apprentice with a troupe was the primary method in the past. Nonetheless, the government ignored the issues of transmission of these two operas for a long period of time. Until recent years, a specific school of performing arts established its first department of Taiwanese Opera to train talent; but then, there has been no organisation brought into the standard current education system for the career development of Hand Puppetry. It is insufficient to transmit such performing arts only from a few artists, which is beyond their reach to do everything. Most practitioners

have petitioned for a specialised school. Even if a specialised school was provided with training capabilities, most students will still need some time to do an internship before they are really competent to perform on the stage (TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; TO06, Female, Amateur/Teacher). Accordingly, the cooperative work experience education is a link between specialised schools and troupes to some extent. However, there is a situation to be noticed here:

Troupe members thought I had graduated from the opera school and supposed I should be equal to all tasks.

(TO04, Female, Performer)

Once entering the troupe, students have probably just started their independent self-training. Certainly, being in a troupe can enhance the strengths of students themselves because they may do sundry duties as well as confronting issues with memberships and audiences. This reflects that systematisation is required in an internship. For example, how many hours are for performing? Who is the observer or tutor? Responding to these questions, the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts (TCPA) already has relevant regulations. Yet, should the troupe or individual members be funded, if they take students for practical training? Are students to be paid for the internship or receive any recourses? In fact, these concerns are similar to the current standard teacher education - helping people to be qualified teachers, but

with fewer teaching positions available - which warns the authorities of a balance of talent between supply and demand. Otherwise, there will be more reserved personnel. Again, this issue is about to what extent that the authorities understand the ecology from different aspects and how they treat performing arts.

#### *9.6.2 Registration and subsidies*

The CCA has registered certain individuals under Significant Traditional Arts as ‘Living National Treasures’, using a Japanese approach (Hung, 2008:108). Those significant artists are not only are subsidised annually to decrease the uncertainty of living. Therefore, they are obligated to promote and teach their honourable skills. They are usually invited to conduct lecture courses or workshops to the public. In addition, certain artists and troupes will now go to the campuses of high schools to promote traditional performing arts and demonstrate how they are performed in practice. This may be for the sake of discovering potential learners of traditional performing arts. At high-school student age and over, there is greater probability of the students planning their future careers than pupils at primary schools. In that case, should the authorities offer students any career guidance and counselling services and subsume it into the administrative affairs of schools and relevant public sector bodies? A small number of registered artists find the responsibilities of teaching and promoting traditional arts too strenuous. According to Japan’s model, they select teaching assistants from training courses

or workshops to help with various activities (Huang, 2008: 274). This might be a good idea to take into consideration in Taiwan. However, there is a question of career insurance while they are teaching a living heritage. Because once registered artists are unable to perform tasks because of mental and physical difficulties, their qualifications will be revoked and their subsidies from the government stopped.

Subsidies raise the issue of cultural budgets and resource allocation. For most troupes, they need financial support and opportunities - large troupes intend more elaborate performances; small troupes might lack stage properties and staff (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; TO04, Female, Performer; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). There are two kinds of subsidies: one is for developing cultural teams, another is for preserving and transmitting intangible heritage (OA02, Female, Official Administrator). On the condition that certain troupes were subsidised, they were obliged to perform publicly, which probably diminishes their takings, revealing that subsidies may sometimes be a burden rather than assistance. This reflects the problem of a lack of a cultural budget. Nevertheless, the disparities in the distribution of resource allocation has been a long term existing problem, that makes the rich richer and the poor poorer by and large (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; TO05, Female, Head of Troupe; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe).

### *9.6.3 Criteria of designation*

As examined in Chapter 7, before being subsidised for development, those troupes have to submit paper applications. Then, the competent authorities examine materials and interview the applicants. However, numerous troupes have argued that they lacked paperwork skills and computer literacy to deal with application documents. In addition, some had inadequate resources to produce well-presented materials. In particular, to decide who is qualified in a few minutes seemed to them to be too hasty (TO03, Male, Staff; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP10, Male, Head of Troupe). Hence, the results are not really just and sound, while the competent authorities did not announce the criteria and comments on applications (TO02, Female, Staff/Performer; HP06, Male, Puppeteer). According to the regulations, there are two phrases to designate intangible heritage from surveys to registration. As argued, the criteria to determine the values of living heritage are fairly indistinct. Certain review committee members consider that only those traditional expressions with artistic, unique, and localised characteristics can be selected. In their view, ‘traditional’ connotes the condition of ‘authentic’ appearances.

In addition, certain practitioners (e.g. HP02, Male, Head of Troupe; HP04, Male, Puppeteer) suggested that the authorities establish a system of classification of troupes and artists to encourage practitioners to strive upwards and operate their organisations diligently.

Certificates were conferred on practitioners when they meet the qualifications, like other professional certifications (e.g. cosmetologists, chefs, architects, designers, etc.). In addition, with different grades (e.g. A, B, C) of qualification, the authorities can offer practitioners different amounts of funds. The holders of the highest qualification can also be designated as ‘Living National Treasures’ (Significant Traditional Arts), whose mission is to teach and pass on skills. Therefore, the measures must be re-clarified rather than the criteria in effect currently depending on the features of artistry, uniqueness, and locality, which are very vague.

## 9.7 CONCLUSION

Intangible heritage manifests the cultural forms of various traditions, social practices, conceptions, knowledge and skills. Those cultural forms are the result of a community interacting with nature and history, being recreated constantly with changes to the environment and over generations. Therefore, intangible heritage is growing constantly and its inventory is increasing. The significance of intangible heritage demonstrates the vitality and continuity of the community, which is explanation sound reason for preserving cultural identity and memory.

The performing arts are not only a form of artistry but also reflects the values of gender diversity and socio-economic positions. In addition, practitioners strive to subsist in a

changing environment through different means. They may combine various traditions or add new elements to their creations, either refining them or making them popular. Numerous cultural teams of performing arts have different orientations to manage their troupes. In any case, they are engaged in promoting and passing on their skills and knowledge. Moreover, the government plays a supporting role in their transmission with more extensive perspectives to provide solutions and coping strategies. In the official implementation of safeguarding intangible heritage, the government has had refer to other countries' protection system. However, it is extremely important to establish an integrated mechanism supporting the needs of practitioners.

In the next chapter, there will be a brief discussion of the main issues raised in this study as well as a substantive conclusion, which will link back to the literature review and research findings. The work will contribute to the academic understanding of intangible heritage in the performing arts generally.

## CHAPTER 10

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

#### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

This study used qualitative interviews, non-participant observation, and documentary research to establish the background to intangible heritage studies as well as the development of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, and to collect samples and qualitatively analyse data. Based on the research questions, this chapter will summarise and examine the research findings, and the main issues arising from the work. Accordingly, the latter sections will provide recommendations for the competent authorities and further researchers, emphasising the importance of this study.

#### 10.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

##### *10.2.1 Definition of intangible heritage*

UNESCO defines the term ‘intangible heritage’ as “the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognise as being part of their cultural heritage” in the 2003 Convention and has raised the concept of safeguarding intangible heritage internationally. Prior to 2003, UNESCO



attempted to safeguard intangible heritage based on the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore in 1989. Elsewhere, in 1950, Japan had enacted the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties and categorised intangible heritage as Intangible Cultural Properties, Intangible Folk-Cultural Properties, and Conservation Techniques. The Republic of Korea enacted a Cultural Properties Protection Act to protect and designate holders of Important Intangible Cultural Properties in 1962. Accordingly, UNESCO created a Living Human Treasures system in 1993. Overall, intangible heritage in Western countries includes architecture, techniques, folklore, past creativity. In non-Western countries, it covers craftsmanship, spiritual culture and beliefs. In multicultural communities, indigenous ethnic heritage is the theme of intangible heritage.

Taiwan has no legal definition of intangible heritage in law, but the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act has adopted Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties for heritage management. In the Act, Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts, and Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers are covered by intangible heritage. With the introduction of UNESCO's definition, the Taiwanese competent authorities use the term 'intangible heritage' as well as 'National Living Treasure' for their implementation and safeguarding work. However, from the recognition of certain practitioners of performing arts, intangible heritage is deemed to be 'tradition', 'traditional

culture', 'cultural assets', 'creativity', 'talent skills', or 'experiences and qualifications'. From their perspectives, in addition to the significance of preservation and transmission, heritage has an economic function, as Howard (2003) states, for final reward or just to make a living (see Section 2.2).

#### *10.2.2 Practice of intangible heritage in performing arts*

Inasmuch as Hand Puppetry was voted as the first image of Taiwan's identity, while Taiwanese Opera originated from the local region, these two types of operas can be treated as representatives of Taiwan's intangible heritage in the performing arts. As already mentioned, Taiwanese Opera originated from the Yilan region of north-eastern Taiwan and has had various forms at different periods, including Luodisao, Old Gua-ah, Outdoor-stage Taiwanese Opera, Indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera, New Drama, OPERA, Radio Taiwanese Opera, Taiwanese Opera Films, TV Taiwanese Opera, and Refined Taiwanese Opera.

In general, Hand Puppetry has two categorises: traditional Hand Puppetry and Golden Light Hand Puppetry. In terms of the evolution of Hand Puppetry, it has gone through three stages of development: the initial stage, the developed stage, and the transition stage. Various types of performances emerged during these stages, such as Longdi Play, Nanguan Play, Beiguan Hand Puppetry, Ancient Books Play, Swordsmen Play, Japanised Hand Puppetry, Outdoor-stage Hand Puppetry, Indoor-stage Hand Puppetry, Golden Light Hand Puppetry,

Radio Hand Puppetry, Hand Puppetry Films, Recording Hand Puppetry, and TV Hand Puppetry.

Taiwanese opera has four main catalogues of roles, Sheng, Dan, Jing, and Chou. Sheng is the male leading role, and Dan is the female leading role. Jing is the supporting male role with a painted face, and Chou is the comic. Costumes and make-up are often good indicators of roles. However, gender is not the principle. Taiwanese opera traditionally uses cross-dressed performers, specifically women portraying male roles. In addition, outdoor-stage performers wear very heavy make-up for the convenience of far-off viewers to watch. Regarding Hand Puppetry, there are five main character types, including Sheng, Dan, Jing, Chou, and Za.

In terms of plots, improvisation is called the 'live play'; comparatively, the 'dead play' is a fixed scenario. Therefore, they need a narrator, who is called the 'Xi-Xiansheng' (the plays teacher), to outline all repertoires. Generally, the plots can be divided into two types, adaptations and newly-written scenarios. Taiwanese Opera music comprises of arias and backstage music, which combines with Chinese stringed instruments of Wen Chang and the Chinese percussion instruments of Wu Chang. Wen Chang is located on the left side of the stage, while Wu Chang is seated on the right side of stage. Nowadays, Western musical instruments are commonly used in most troupes. Moreover, it is noteworthy that religious beliefs have deeply influenced the performance of traditional operas in Taiwan. With this

respect, certain temples not only provide opera troupes with opportunities to perform but also the resources to support them. Furthermore, those playing operas should be aware of taboos.

The structure of a performing arts troupe requires a troupe head, a plays teacher (Xi-Xiansheng), a charge hand of public relations, performers, backstage musicians and working staff. In the case of a performer's going between troupes, there are two systems to manage human resources - one is the annual contract membership, and another is the contract-bounded apprenticeship. However, at present, except for leading roles, other troupe members do not have to sign any contract. In order to firm up the membership, most proprietors prefer to employ relatives. In particular, numerous troupes of Taiwanese Opera used to merge with each other by marriage to form a family-based union. Most troupes mainly depend on outdoor-stage performance to maintain their operations. Due to budget difficulties, they seek state subsidies and increase incomes through sidelines and new solutions.

### *10.2.3 Transmitting performing arts as living heritage*

In the past, apprenticeships existed as a system of training for the performing arts. The apprentices had been fostered since they were children and hence were called 'contract-bound children', under a contract of a minimum of three and a half years. During this period, the apprentices unavoidably did odd jobs without being paid. However, their acquisition of skills was actually by means of random self-observation and continual practice. According to their

anticipated and respective roles, the learners of Taiwanese Opera learnt essential skills, such as basic motions and postures, arias and lines, the presenting of proper facial expressions, and emotions.

In the case of Hand Puppetry, the trainees aim to become puppeteers, even to be vocal leaders. They learn how to manipulate the puppets to present basic and highly difficult motions, as well as the five required skills - beating, stringing, blowing, singing, and speaking - while playing the various characters of puppets with different tones and expressions. Although the previous apprenticeship system of practitioners does not exist at present, there are other means to develop the new learners being engaged in Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry. Among others, certain troupes, school clubs, and community associations provide opportunities for professional and amateur training. Taiwanese Opera also has a specialist department at the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts (TCPA). On the other hand, Hand Puppetry has no such resource of the formal education system with which to take advantage.

Facing changes in the types of entertainment in modern society and the demands of the market, most groups of traditional performing arts must innovate to retain and attract audiences. In addition, they have been trying to find niches within the cultural creative industries for their subsistence. In order to refine performances, they make an effort to

integrate Eastern and Western culture to enrich music, plots, and costumes, as well as to introduce drama theories and stage-planning techniques including multimedia effects.

It is noteworthy that Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry confront the difficulties of transmission. Firstly, the current practitioners can hardly find themselves successors on the grounds that they have economic concerns or have no interest in traditional performing arts. Secondly, a lack of resources and opportunities for performing have become issues and causes vicious competition between practitioners in order to get more openings. Thirdly, the timbre of performances has dropped and there has been a public bias towards performers. Lastly, the Taiwanese dialect used in the performances has gradually diminished among the younger generations of audiences, and some are fond of superficial shows with more sensual pleasures rather than the content of the performing arts.

#### *10.2.4 Cultural policy and safeguarding intangible heritage*

In Taiwan, the competent authority was the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), now upgraded to Ministry of Culture (MOC), which is in charge of policy-making, planning and implementing the promotion and protection of cultural heritage. The direct-municipalities and the county and city governments are regarded as local authorities. For the physical work of the registration of intangible heritage, the competent authorities have launched investigations since 2006. However, the standard setting was subjective and very difficult to determine the

potential of registration. From the perspective of the central competent authority, those artistic forms representing traditional and 'authentic' styles were especially more likely to be designated as intangible heritage. After the approval of the review committee, the selected troupes and artists were re-investigated and registered as Traditional Arts if they met the requirements. Following that, the results of the designation and registration were publicly declared, while the competent authority further disseminated these. The current method is to post the relevant information on official websites available for the public to search. Nevertheless, the central competent authority tends not to register too much living heritage on the grounds that the more artists that are registered, the more responsibilities the government will have to take, bringing about financial issues.

Most troupes of traditional arts have financial difficulties and need government support. Some of them lack paperwork and computer literacy. In fact, the competent authorities have been aware of such problems. They have provided some opportunities to guide and counsel those troupes and artists on how to apply for budgets and sort their scattered documents. Moreover, numerous practitioners have argued that sometimes the reviews and examinations are not fair, and that the competent authorities do not pay much attention to their practical performances. It is apparent that they lack frequent interaction and a deeper understanding of each other. Sometimes, the amount is too little to afford a public performance. Therefore, the

good intention to subsidise troupes and artists probably causes them a dilemma. In addition, limited budgets are not well allocated, which reveals another problem of selection. When looking to designate and register intangible heritage, governments and academia make efforts to establish a model and a clear definition. In addition, the administrators encountered some problems in the public sector, including stereotypical processes and a heavy burden of public affairs, which causes a reduction in efficiency. A lack of public information, poor inter-communication among public sector personnel and the organisational changes may fail the continuity of constructing projects.

### 10.3 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

In addition to addressing the research questions: What is intangible heritage in tradition and identity in Taiwan and how is it practised and implemented?, the research findings have fulfilled the proposed study aims and objectives:

1. To examine the definition(s) of ‘intangible heritage’ in the international community and in Taiwan.
2. To explore the development of representative intangible heritage in the performing arts with Taiwan’s identity.
3. To interpret the transmission(s) of those intangible heritage practices.



4. To investigate the bureaucratic implementation(s) of intangible heritage and cultural policy.

By reviewing the literature, this study has introduced the regional definitions of intangible heritage in certain Western and non-Western communities, in particular the understanding of the definition of UNESCO 2003 Convention, which determined the international inventories of intangible heritage. Through analysing interview data, this study has revealed the individual meanings of intangible heritage from the perspective of practitioners in Taiwan.

Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry have established links with the deep-rooted memories of most Taiwanese people as traditions, and they use the Taiwanese dialect for performances to express Taiwan's identity. Therefore, these two manifestations have been demonstrated as representative of Taiwan's intangible heritage in the performing arts. Accordingly, this study has examined their histories and modern development by different types in different ages. Regarding passing on the skills and artistry of Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, this study has revealed the approaches to transmission by the practitioners and the problems and difficulties in their practice through interviews and non-participant observation.

On the one hand, along with interviews with official administrators, this study has

investigated the process of official designation and registration of Traditional Arts and the current cultural policy towards safeguarding intangible heritage; on the other hand, practitioners' feedback provided clues about how the government exactly implements this in practice.

From the research findings, there are certain specific issues raised by this study as follows:

1. Taiwan has referred to international and regional definitions of 'intangible heritage', however, there is no such term defined in the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, which stipulates the relevant regulations of cultural heritage.
2. With the changing circumstances, the Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry troupes face challenges. They may refine their performances and seek other solutions to survive and develop.
3. The apprentice system of passing on skills no longer exists in Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry, so there is a gap between practitioners and successors, who may consider the issue of earning a living.
4. The criteria for the designation and registration of Traditional Arts is rather vague, and the official authorities are not actively involved in exploring and understanding the potential individuals or groups as living heritage.

5. There are some restrictions on the public sector's administrative system when safeguarding intangible heritage, including stereotypical rules, inconsistent operating procedures, and the size of allocated budgets.

In conclusion, Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry are demonstrated to be part of an intangible heritage in the performing arts, and part of Taiwan's tradition and identity. Individual artists and group practitioners have been developing their troupes to two ways: using both commercial-oriented and non-commercial-oriented organisations for income, promotion, and transmission. In passing on their skills as living heritage, they require government support with subsidies and appropriate policy-making. Intangible heritage in Taiwan has introduced and presented its own tradition, identity, wisdom, sense, and memories to international communities.

#### 10.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In accordance with the research findings, this study will give some recommendations for official practice and policy-making. The latest of revision of Taiwan's Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was in 2011. Safeguarding intangible heritage has created a crisis of consciousness for the government with fast-declining practitioners of traditional arts in Taiwan. As already mentioned, the Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA) has been upgraded to the Ministry of Culture (MOC) since 2009, and the concepts and affairs of heritage are

increasing. Though the new term 'intangible heritage' is not an urgent priority at this stage, it is deemed to be an ultimate goal (OA03, Female, Official Administrator). For the competent authorities, clarifying concepts, broadening knowledge and understanding of the present ecology of local arts and cultural groups will help implement policy (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe).

Taiwan's government has been trying to designate intangible heritage for its preservation. However, the designation of intangible heritage is not only based on merit, which neglects the value and diversity of 'unqualified' organisations and individuals. Since 'uniqueness' possesses the characteristics of a particular category, condition, or locality, when the government gets behind groups and individuals, it should be careful not to reform them into uniform bureaucratic models of intangible heritage, which are considered worth preserving. The bureaucratic criteria might cause all practitioners to meet the standards but lack originality. Furthermore, in regard to the creation of intangible heritage, it is a recurring process preserving traditional elements and those left to disappear or be altered to new forms (Skounti, 2009). The administrative management of intangible heritage needs a system to determine its inventory, value, dissemination, and relevant conditions. It is necessary for the competent authorities to establish negotiable criteria to identify the value of a work of art between its genuineness and reformation. For instance, a committee can determine the

conditions for the designation of performances, e.g. the acting, lines, music, costumes, or stage properties. Except for these essences, any new creation can be brought into the performances and with the convertible parts distinguished from fixed elements to develop (HP03, Male, puppeteer; HP05, Male, Head of Troupe; HP06, Male, puppeteer).

Prior to the introduction and registration of intangible heritage in recent years, troupes and artists have performed and practiced in their own particular ways for years, as they have had to adjust to survive in a changing environment. The fundamental method must be to assist existing troupes and artists to understand themselves and to strengthen their advantages to be self-supporting and to pass on their skills and knowledge. The construction of transmission of intangible heritage can be ideally figured as a pyramid. The master is on the top, the apprentices are in the middle, and audiences are positioned as the base. However, audiences of traditional performing arts have decreased. The senior artists can hardly pass their skills to their successors. The shape of pyramid has been gradually become a rhombus. Therefore, as mentioned in Section 5.5.1, safeguarding intangible heritage should be rooted in the education system, to broaden its audiences to understand and appreciate it. The competent authorities also play a role in providing resources for apprentices (OA03, Female, Official Administrator). Referring to the designation of intangible heritage, the competent authorities can open both channels of ‘receiving’ and ‘giving’ in the designation of living heritage. For example,

‘receiving’ is accepting the application and examining the qualifications of the applicants for official recognitions, while ‘giving’ is where the authorities invite artists to be designated, who are generally acknowledged, in case they do not want to enter the processes to be examined (HP10, Male, Head of Troupe).

Moreover, there are restrictions within the existing public sector system, including stereotypical processes of implementation, poor inter-communication between different departments, and frequent personnel changes. The official administrators always follow the standard operating procedures to handle cultural affairs; however, it does not work out well. The public sector may set up an ad-hoc panel for different situations, to become more flexible. Further, the public sector implements their own agenda separately without linking up with other relevant institutions, and they may reduce efficiency and waste in their efforts. Therefore, when promoting similar projects, relevant sectors should build horizontal ties to be integrated and avoid repetitive jobs or any oversight. Sometimes, frontline staff familiar with the issues are changed. This might cause gaps or overlaps between that member of staff and the successor. The competent authorities should not transfer staff as far as possible. If there is no alternative, the handover should be smooth and complete between new and old staff members to ensure the current rate of progress (OA01, Male, Official Administrator; OA02, Female, Official Administrator).

## 10.5 CONTRIBUTIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on existing literature, this study provides one of the models of practice of intangible heritage in regional communities, particularly as Taiwan is a non-Member State of UNESCO. Being located in the Asia and Pacific area, Taiwan's definition of intangible heritage is determined with its artistry and spiritual values, in contrast to traditional Western perspectives. As well as interpreting the definitions at international and regional levels, this study provides various cases for the potential of increasing the inventory of intangible heritage in Taiwan. Taiwan has three categories: Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts, and Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers, mutually included within the UNESCO 2003 convention. Furthermore, this research shares individual Taiwanese perspectives of intangible heritage to present their own identities and values, as well as developing concepts of intangible heritage.

As already stated, the most recent literature related to performing arts in Taiwan dates to 2006 (Taiwanese Opera) and 2009 (Hand Puppetry). The findings here has updated the current practices and trends in Taiwanese Opera and Hand Puppetry as intangible heritage in Taiwan. The traditional performing arts in Taiwan in its historical development, geographic distribution, school characteristics, and performance types have been discussed. This research

however is the first international-based academic work to examine the performing arts in Taiwan through the concept of safeguarding intangible heritage, rather than as theatre or folklore studies. Of course, this research is also a comparative study of the different types of performing arts, with ‘vertical’ socio-historical views and ‘horizontal’ intercultural perspectives, which may be a guideline for any future work.

From both the views of governmental administrators and practitioners of traditional performing arts, this research indicates the advantages and disadvantages of current cultural policies and their implementation. In particular, this study reveals the difficulties and problems of management and transmission by practitioners. These findings are able to inform policy-making internationally and perhaps establish a model based on but separate to UNESCO’s recognition system.

Taking into account the feasibility of undertaking this study in the context of the available time and resources, the work comprises of and is arranged in five main themes: intangible heritage, performances, organisational management, training, and cultural policy. Certainly, intangible heritage and its practices in the performing arts involve more discourses. In Chapter 9, there were more discussions on a broader range of categories that can be created and determined. The potential framework of intangible heritage in Taiwan may be structured with current contents and language, social practices (e.g. gastronomy, dietary culture, living



memories, experiences), universal knowledge (e.g. spiritual healing, medical treatments), and intangible natural heritage (e.g. sunrise or sunset with meanings at specific places; birding watching). In addition, gender raises a number of issues if the performing arts are to expand (e.g. cross-dressing, gender stereotypes and audiences of intercultural difference). It is noteworthy that related gender topics (e.g. gender sensitivity, gender equality, women's rights) can be specific or broader in discussions of intangible heritage. It is critical to examine further the impact of globalisation on cultural diversity, tourism and economic effects and its relationship with intangible heritage. In terms of intrinsic values and attitudes towards intangible heritage in communities, education is an essential process for development. These discourses will be the subject of my future studies and areas that other researchers should also be encouraged to explore.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM

**Title of Research Project:**

A Living Heritage: Intangible Heritage in Performing Arts in Taiwan

**Name of Researcher:** Shangrong Tsai

**Principal Supervisor:** Dr John Carman

This study is being conducted as part of my PhD studies at the University of Birmingham. This consent form, a copy of which has been provided to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will be involved. Should you require further details not included here, please do not hesitate to inquire. Please kindly take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

**Purpose of the Study**

1. To comprehend Taiwanese opera and hand puppetry as intangible heritage in Taiwan
2. To examine their practice by certain artists and groups in southern Taiwan
3. To explore the approaches to pass on performing arts they are engaged in
4. To debate the issue of handing down their artistry in a predicament which can be able to inform policy-making in Taiwan and internationally

**What Will I Be Asked to Do?**

I wish to interview you because of your professional knowledge and practice relevant to my research project. Your participation would involve answering some questions. In addition, some rehearsals or performances may be recorded as part of this study. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give any reason, in which case records of any information collected from you would be destroyed. Furthermore, you will be able to withdraw your data up to the point of publication.

**What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?**

With your permission, I will record the interview in notes and audio documents. Rehearsals

and performances will be recorded in audio and video format.

**Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?**

I do not expect any risk to you in participating in this study.

**What happens to the Information I Provide?**

Responses will be kept for the purpose of data analysis and reporting. I will save the interview notes and drafts in locked files. All video and audio recordings and documents in electronic format will be stored and password protected. In addition, responses will be translated by the investigator, so that participant confidentiality will be well-maintained.

**Signatures**

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this release the investigators or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant Name                      Signature Date

Investigator's Name              Signature Date

**Questions/Concerns**

Should you have further questions concerning, please do not hesitate to contact:

Yuan-Ting Tsai

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Dr John Carman

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form as well.

## APPENDIX 2: TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS

**Participant: TO01**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Time: 11.00-13.00, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2010**

**Location: Office of troupe**

TO01: About the origin of Taiwanese Opera, it was called Xianju in mainland China and it had another name - Gua Ah. We call it opera troupes locally. With time going, the development of Taiwanese Opera is further combined with numerous tunes like Chegū, Ruantang, Beiguang and Nanguang, etc. In the past, performers of Taiwanese Opera were all males and there were no female performer.

Investigator: Right?

TO01: There was a saying, 'No mercy from parents, children are sent to opera troupes.' It means children were sent to opera troupes because parents had no way out economically. In the past, Taiwanese never viewed opera performers as artists to speaking out for culture.

Investigator: No loft status, right?

TO01: Thereafter, such things finally became what we say Lo De Sao. From Lo De Sao, the performances became delicate in some aspects like singing and arias. Thereafter, the performances further became Zi Di Xi and the some parts of Zi Di Xi were learned from mutual experience exchange. Performers learned operas from others to serve as their performances. Such performances had no creativity and performers just learn what they had seen like Taoist s shaking bells or making whatever movements. However, performers spent sincere effort to change their postures. The reason of Taiwanese Opera formally developed was the colonial movement during the Japan Occupation Period. At that time, Japanese strictly implemented their own cultural policies and performers of Taiwanese Opera had to wear Japanese clothes.

Investigator: Do you mean the colonial movement?

TO01: Yes! Performers patterned after Japanese in clothes and actions. Therefore, most Taiwanese Opera at that time were half-dramas and it is so-called dramas. In the past, they were called new dramas and now they were called dramas.

Investigator: If so, do you mean Japanese clothes?

TO01: Yes! Japanese clothes! In 1946, after Taiwan was restored, Taiwanese Opera started to show up gradually. In 1953, indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera reached the climax locally. At that time, it was an agriculture era and there was no TV. Taiwanese Opera became

the major pastimes. The reason why some children were sent to learn operas was because of their impoverished economic conditions. At that time, Taiwan experienced a very poor period economically. Therefore, there were numerous children sent to opera troupes by parents. These children were contractually bond for 3 years and 6 months.

Investigator: Contractual bond?

TO01: Yes! They were contractually bond. Troupe heads lent money previously. After 3 years and 6 months, troupe heads would never request to pay off the money lent. Performers could learn operas and live in the troupe. During the period, 90% of children sent to operas were because of poor economic conditions. Therefore, numerous students spent 3 years and 6 months to learn operas. About after 10 more years in 1950, there had been numerous opera performers available. At that time, numerous performers of Chinese operas joined Taiwanese Opera troupes, because these performers were well-trained in basic skills like singing and arias when they were in mainland China. They became opera teachers at troupes. In the beginning, there were several types of Chinese operas like crying tunes and 7-word. Some other elements like Nanguang were combined to Taiwanese Opera. Till 1980s, Taiwanese Opera started to play some new tunes. At that time, all the songs sung in Taiwanese Opera were only 7-word tunes, Zaniang and Ruantang. Du-Ma tunes were developed and rooted locally by an opera troupe called Du-Ma-Ban from Xiameng. It meant the change of operas. Regarding the changes to performers, in the past agricultural economic times, children were sent to opera troupes because of poor economic conditions. In our troupes, there were still 5 or 6 troupe members with the situation as I said. But, now we have returned all the money they barrowed before and never want them to pay off debts anymore, because they have aged 70 more. It is nonsense to ask them pay off the debts they barrowed before. Such a return really makes them feel deeply touched and we sincerely award them for their past effort spent for my troupe. Now, they have been 70 more years old. Regarding arias, performers at that time were vested with more artistic arias. For example, the parents of Ms Li-Hua Yang used to be our troupe members in during the earlier period. Then, we often performed in theatres. When her father died, she was given and adopted by a leading role in our troupe for opera training. After a period of time, she left our troupe. At the moment when she left, she was not good at opera singing.

Investigator: Do you know about at what age she left your troupe? Do you remember?

TO01: Well! I have to think a while. Her age is about like mine, earlier 60s. Like her, she just makes a transmission of a national treasure. In the past, people always viewed the jobs of operas or head-shaving as nothing. However, at that time, opera performance is a

tough job. Every posture and action is strictly requested. But now, things are entirely different. People do what they want and exert themselves in performances. There are two types of opera performances. One is the scriptural performance and the other is verbal performance. Verbal performance means it can be quickly learned by verbal expression like outdoor-stage operas. After verbal explanation, performers can exert by themselves. Scriptural performance is totally different such as public performances with rehearsals previously arranged. It means whatever you act should be previously arranged in scripts. Whenever scripts are done, the director has selected roles with the operation process just like movies. In 1985, I started to advocate cultural transmission and I hoped schools could also join this activity. I tried to make them about understand what about the playing and singing in Taiwanese Opera. At least, we could allow students with rough notions. If not, Taiwanese Opera will face their cultural gaps definitely. It is because we have stepped into the industry age and now is technology era with time changing incessantly. In 1986, I had proposed such a saying. However, at that time, everyone never thought so and they found there numerous people learning Taiwanese Opera. I said time would tell everything. Eventually, my saying comes true.

Investigator: You mean you had forecasted the outcome 20 more years ago, right?

TO01: Yes! I had forecasted such an outcome 10 more years ago. Therefore, I always hope the governments should publicize relevant laws.

Investigator: Do you mean protecting cultural heritages?

TO01: Yes! I mean protecting our cultural heritages and cultural industries. At that time, Mr Song found my suggestion was quite reasonable. Therefore, we should never eject outlandish people because there are numerous outlandish people used to join the promotion process for Taiwanese Opera and local culture and art. After the 1990s, there were fewer people learning Taiwanese Opera. Due to industry competitions in Taiwanese Opera, their performances have become stripping shows. The opera troupes also conducted stripping shows. For such a feverish situation, I used to lobby numerous opera troupes around the island and persuaded from conducting the stripping shows. Never derail. Our art and performances are conducted in front of gods. We should pose the serious attitude with a generous heart and be kind to our children. Because whenever we conduct performances, numerous viewers are children. If we conduct stripping shows, firstly it means disrespect to gods; secondly, our next generation will mistake Taiwanese Opera as stripping shows. It is a sin. Art conducted like this is valueless.

Investigator: Why they don't directly employ strip girl troupes for performances and never confuse with Taiwanese Opera?

TO01: It is because clients want to save performance cost with two kinds of performances



available simultaneously. I used to conduct opera performances on Penghu. However, they requested us to conduct stripping shows later.

Investigator: In Magong, right?

TO01: Yes! In Magong. I decided to quit the performances and I told them our troupe is the Taiwanese Opera troupe, not the musical troupes. For musical troupes, stripping shows still made sense. However, for our troupe, it was not. To firmly keep this stance, I totally spent 10 years persuading them to rid such a vicious atmosphere. However, such a situation is frequently seen in the middle and southern Taiwan. I feel the class of northern opera troupes is higher and they never conduct stripping shows on stages. It is why I always enjoy close partnerships with some northern artists. I really admire them very much. Whenever they come to the southern areas, I always hospitalize them passionately. I always serve beverages or some other things as gifts to encourage them. In our society, there must be some silly guys to do some stupid things. If so, the social atmosphere will not go worse. If our social atmosphere goes worse, there will chaos happening to culture industries and cause deteriorated cultural levels for our next generation. Therefore, our local Taiwanese Opera troupes really work very hard. We used to be selected as the excellent opera team with the sponsorship from the Council of Cultural Affairs. However, I quitted this honour. At that time, the council chief was Ms Yu-Hsiu Chen, and the deputy chief was Mr Wen-Chia Lo. They asked, 'Why you don't want his honour and others are eager for this so much?' I said, 'Our troupe is available for self-reliance and we don't want governmental subsidy. I would rather make this sponsorship given to some new and small opera troupes for them to improve and make cultural transmission.' We are always on the honourable list, including the Ming Hua Yuan. Their troupe head enjoys very intimate friendship with me and our friendship is better than brotherhood. I also said to him, 'You should never receive governmental sponsorship always. Sometimes, the sponsorship should be allowed to others. The amount of NTD 200,000 or 300,000 can sponsor at least 4 troupes. Your opera troupe can survive on your own and your cultural has reached the national levels.' Therefore, after I received governmental sponsorship for 3 years, I quitted the sponsorship. Later on, the government insisted to sponsor me for another year, but I rejected. The chief of the Council of Cultural Affairs used to request me just receive governmental sponsorship for another year only. I said, 'Just once and never again in the future.' Whoever loves his own cultural industries and art, he should devote something. If you want everyone to make devotion, you should show your sincere effort previously. However, there are few people having such an idea. At present, there have been numerous opera teams receiving monetary sponsorship at whatever amount they can. Actually, it is a kind of very corrupt social atmosphere. Taiwanese Opera

mean a kind of folk culture and ever should keep local folk culture well. In view of Hakka operas, they suppose when their troupe is required for sponsorship, governmental aids should be given in time. Whenever the troupe is well sponsored, they should serve professional performances. However, at present, there are numerous teams having no chance to receive sponsorship. Whenever they are sponsored, they just do something superficially. I suppose we should not only do something superficially, but also make cultural transmission well. We should allow our generation with educational meanings and make them know it is an excellent art. Sometimes, my daughter teaches opera classes at school, I always tell her, 'You just receive the pay within their affordable ranges. It is alright even if it is an unpaid job. You just teach whoever wants your instruction.' In the past, I used to teach operas at the Pintung Normal University. At the first day, there were only 10 students (normally required for 20 more students to make an opera class). I still continued my teaching. In the second week, the number of students grew. Till the third week, I still continued my teaching and the number of students grew many more again. In the fourth week, there were numerous students attending. I took students to the stadium and taught them opera actions. At that time, I used to teach them the classical dances on the Tang and Song Dynasties. Particularly, some of them also touched modern dances, and I requested them to learn both modern and classical dances. Whenever we write scripts, the wrong part is always revised. I put cautious attention to any word without rhymes.

Investigator: When we write poems, we also pay attention to rhymes. Do Taiwanese Opera also pay close attention to rhymes?

TO01: This part should be noticed by directors and playwrights. Aside from rhymes, the contexts are also critically important. I used to write a script called - 'Parents Care'. When this script was finished, I found it cannot be understood by anyone. Therefore, I had to clarify what I was talking about. In opera performances, if you don't know the meanings of lines and it make viewers just watch performances but no true meanings found. The cultural troupes planning to conduct performances in the music hall should firstly realize the viewers in cultural centres quite different from those of outdoor-stage performances.

Investigator: They belong to different types of viewers. How many performance occasions will be requested by governments if you receive governmental sponsorship?

TO01: There are a certain number of performance occasions to be requested by governments. However, things going on like this are impossible for us to make cultural transmission feasible. You have to invite the next generation to learn operas, but the learning chances for others are deprived. Therefore, I will not receive the sponsorship from the Courses. I have established my own opera classroom with the rental NTD 12,000 a

month. This year, I am busy establishing a temple and I hope I can also take good care of our folk culture. My daughter has been married and her mother-in-law is a teacher. Her husband does not want her to play Taiwanese Opera anymore.

Investigator: You have only one daughter, right?

TO01: I have two daughters and they both industriously teach opera arias. However, the difference between Taiwanese Opera and movies is although casts have been selected previously, opera performances are required walking and positioning. Movies are different and after effect will be available for performers just walking through. The performances of Taiwanese Opera include walking and positioning and all of these should be sufficiently rehearsed previously. Some crying tunes have been changed and there are some new tunes created. It is fortunate there is no cultural gap happening to Du-Ma tunes and 7-word tunes. I usually talk to my daughter. This is a tough road and it is impossible to make you rich. In view of cultural art, to create your own world is quite difficult. I strongly suggest our governments should take deep roots into every school and make teachers and students personally experience Taiwanese Opera. The performance art featured with the most local characteristics is exactly the Taiwanese Opera or puppets. Taiwanese Opera mean a difficult business. Opera troupes turned to tape-playing performances after several troupes are unable to survive, but lose considerable money. There are numerous outdoor-stage troupes just for making money but having no cultural morality as I say. They conduct performances only with 6 or 7 performers. If there is any client inviting us for outdoor-stage performances, our pay should be NTD 30,000 in cash. Our troupe has to send 13 performers and everyone should be paid with NTD 2,000. The total pay of 13 troupe members is NTD 26,000. And then, what about other expenditures like stage, meals and insurance? In view of the current situations of Taiwanese Opera, there have been numerous changes. The first one is there is no more pollution like gambling and betel nuts. Because the performance is conducted on a public place, gambling is strictly forbidden. Who will conduct the performances if performers are caught by the policies due to gambling? According to my experience, there is kind of performers chasing for performance skill improvement and they really enjoy the performance process. However, there is still another kind of performers just making their performances for earning money only. Whenever the performances are finished, they go home. What they do just makes a living only. It used to be a quite awful situation. What we need now is transmission. What can they do even if they graduate from the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts? At present, there are limited numbers of temple festivals available for opera performances. For performers at outdoor-stage, it is still required for 1 year to make postures, actions and arias available for performances. However, they are paid

only at an average less than NTD 16,000 a month. Some performers have to raise children and rent houses. They live a very tough life. Therefore, the transmission of Taiwanese Opera is still required for governmental sponsorship.

Investigator: How about your ideas to ask for sponsorship? For example, there are some performance teams receiving less emphasis urgently required for sponsorship. How do they ask for such sponsorship? What about your suggestions to cultural policies?

TO01: I can boldly say that actually, there are numerous professors obtaining information from us. They send some assistants for interviews. They criticize nothing about us and they also know we frequently find their faults. Regarding the development for performance teams, there are always some same teams selected for sponsorship. If I submit the application, they never let our applications passed. However, the sponsorship for a performance occasion is only NTD 60,000 and I suffer the financial loss of NTD 150,000 because a performance at the cost of NTD 150,000 just can make it even. The staffs of Kaohsiung Cultural Bureau of Cultural Affairs ask why I don't conduct performances anymore. I say, 'I don't mean to quit my performances. However, how can I do only with the sponsorship of NTD 100,000? Staging cost is NTD 50,000. The cost for sound and lighting is NTD 110,000. What about other expenditures?'

Investigator: We certainly suffer financial loss. We would rather quit performances. The more performances we conduct the more financial loss we will suffer, right?

TO01: Right!

Investigator: Did you ever join the appraisal panel?

TO01: The staffs of the culture centre used to give me some scripts. They gave the scripts written by two persons. One was an original creation and the other is a script plagiarizing an old version. I suppose scripts should be original versions. For original scripts, I will give them original marks. If scripts are plagiarized, I criticize and mark the original scripts and their publicized times. What I do is to make the Bureau of Cultural Affairs understand what the reality is. Otherwise, please never invite me as the panel member. There are about 50000-60000 words in a script and two scripts make 100000 more words totally. I spend much time reviewing and criticising. However, finally, I find some scripts are plagiarised versions without any original creativity.

Investigator: If so, how do I work so hard?

TO01: Therefore, I tell them never invite me as the panel member. It was about 10 years ago. There was a France touring team and an England touring team visiting Kaohsiung. I was invited as a guide to introduce the southern Taiwan. They asked why there was only foreign performances conducted by the Ming Hua Yuan, but there was no other

performance team found? I said, ‘It is a problem of performance channels and I won’t detail too much. After all, everyone engages in cultural affairs. ‘Nations around the world can be the examples for our learning effort. If they have excellent culture, we should follow their examples. However, when we are making improvement, never eradicate local culture if innovation is implemented. If Taiwanese Opera cannot grow well, we can never step into the international stages. Tape-playing is strictly forbidden for a performance team representing your own nation except musical performance teams. We should exert our real performance skills.

Investigator: Oh! Does your daughter still teach some opera postures?

TO01: Yes! She does.

Investigator: Where are you teaching now? Are you invited for opera teaching?

TO01: People will invite us. I used to have my own classroom but I stopped renting the classroom last year. I am now busy in building a temple. If you have something to tell, just speak out.

Investigator: What I would like to say is I am just a graduate school student.

TO01: Well! It doesn’t matter.

Investigator: If so, regarding the selection for sponsored performance teams and resource allocation, what about your opinions?

TO01: Regarding resource allocation, we must previously understand whether the candidate performance team is spending effort in training. The transmission is very important.

Investigator: What about the way to make officers hear such voices?

TO01: I have suggested the CCA and they have heard.

Investigator: What about their attitude in mind?

TO01: They have heard these since the 1990s. There used to be someone telling me a professor going to celebrate his birthday. He asked me if I could offer some blessing to this professor. I thought it seemed to be unnecessary because I engaged in cultural affairs and there should be nothing concerned with the professor’s birthday celebration. The point was I did not know him. I thought it was available for anyone knowing him to offer blessing. If your team knew him, you could offer blessing. However, the person suggested me if I could offer birthday blessing, everything would be fine. He hoped I could offer birthday blessing, but I would not deal with anything through such a channel. I never receive monetary offerings and my instruction is unpaid.

Investigator: Everyone supposed you to be a master. How do you feel about that?

TO01: I never deserve it. I never mind if I can be a living heritage. I just want to write scripts for Taiwanese Opera and do something good for Taiwan or our world.

**Participant: TO02**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Staff/Performer**

**Time: 10.00-11.20, 3<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Office of troupe**

Investigator: Your troupe is a very large Taiwanese Opera troupe. Your troupe is also quite busy in your tight schedules. Can I ask what about your ways to train new performers?

TO02: Actually, we have to enhance the part in training new comers. Because in view of local environment in Taiwan, the only one opera school to train Taiwanese Opera students for both front stages and back stages in a systematic way should be the Taiwanese Opera Academy in Taipei.

Investigator: Only the Taiwanese Opera Academy, right?

TO02: Yes! In southern Taiwan, there is no such an educating system. Therefore, every troupe must train the performers they need. Taking us for example, we usually hold some opera classes at communities. Sometimes, we can know some young performers with huge interest in Taiwanese Opera. After they join opera classes at communities, they probably join the troupes to become a professional performer. Therefore, we usually know some more new generations through such a channel and then recruit them to become our troupe members. Regarding the part aiming at on-troupe training for our troupe members, we have no sufficient budget to enhance any specific part. Generally, for producing an opera, we will invite teachers to enhance the weak parts of our troupe members such as singing or basic skills. Therefore, we often train our troupe members in such a way. Our troupe head sincerely hope there is a professional Taiwanese Opera school in the southern Taiwan. Through a professional school, the training will be more complete and continuous. If we want to promote Taiwanese Opera, it is quite difficult with the effort made by a troupe only.

Investigator: Well! The budget is also limited.

TO02: We planned to collaborate with the Open University. The Open University is a platform with much freedom. However, we still need some time for adapting each other. Meanwhile, budget and manpower are both required. We did try the collaboration before, but the collaboration was difficult to continue.

Investigator: What about the resources for your teachers?

TO02: We usually invite senior performers in the opera business. There is a Teacher Chang to instruct us. He is a member of the Guo-Guang Opera Troupe with excellent basic skills. He is also a director. He performs excellently in every aspect. We invite him to instruct basic skills like playing blades and swords, along with targeting. In view of

basic skills, if a member comes from the professional opera school system, he will be proficiently well-trained definitely, but few performers derive from such a system. Therefore, it is required to invite teachers from the Chinese opera system to instruct us with robust basic skills reachable.

Investigator: Sorry. At what age did you engage in this field?

TO02: Oh! For my part, I started to like watching Taiwanese Opera since I was a child. Thereafter, when I was a high school student, I joined the student club of Taiwanese Opera. That was my first touch with Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: Well!

TO02: After my graduation from university, I formally started to join the opera troupe.

Investigator: Is this troupe your first one to join? Is there any other troupe you used to join before?

TO02: From the very beginning, I started to join this troupe because I had known the troupe head since my high school years. When I was a high school student, the troupe head taught us at our student club of Taiwanese Opera. At that time, we had known each other.

Investigator: If so, the troupe head was your teacher, right?

TO02: Yes! During my university years, I always spent my spare time to play minor roles for my troupe or helped deal with some relevant chores.

Investigator: Do you mean dealing with some administrative affairs?

TO02: I mean dealing with some chores or playing minor roles. After my graduation, I started to become a formal troupe member.

Investigator: As I can see, you are very young. How old are you?

TO02: I am just 30.

Investigator: Do your troupe members always come here for performance rehearsals?

TO02: Yes!

Investigator: Do you have any regular schedules for troupe training? Is dense training only available for performance rehearsals?

TO02: If we are not busy, we have regular weekly schedules for training. However, for past one or two years, due to our tight schedules, we are unavailable to arrange specific time for training. We just conduct performance rehearsals. Recently, our training schedules are 5 or 6 days of rehearsals a week. Every day, we have a crowd of members assembling here.

Investigator: As I can see, present members are very young. What is the average age of your troupe members?

TO02: The youngest one about ages 20.

Investigator: 20? What is the age of the most senior member?

TO02: The ages of our senior troupe members about range from 50 to 60.

Investigator: Is the male leading role available for the trial made by new comers based on various operas?

TO02: Do you mean role arrangement, right?

Investigator: Yes!

TO02: Every performer is arranged with a fixed role. Generally, leading roles are often played by senior troupe members. Our troupe head is the first male leading role. If there are other minor roles available, the role vacancies can be tried by new troupe members.

Investigator: Are you mainly in charge of the affairs of administrative operation and public relationship? Do you also conduct opera performances?

TO02: Yes! I will conduct performances.

Investigator: A regular or occasional performances?

TO02: I conduct long-term regular performances. Actually, I am a performer and also take care of administrative affairs. In view of the operation of Taiwanese Opera troupes, in the aspect of manpower, it is unavailable for our troupe to employ a full-time administrative staff. Therefore, all our administrative staffs are also performers, especially young members. About the specialties of old troupe members, they are proficient in performances. Unlike us with bachelor's degree, we are capable of dealing with administrative affairs.

Investigator: To my knowledge, your troupe used to be selected as the predominant opera troupe with some chances available for foreign performances. Can you share me something about this?

TO02: When we conducted performances in USA. Our audience were Chinese overseas. If there were some foreigners, we provided English subtitles.

Investigator: Do you have English subtitles?

TO02: Yes! Subtitles are available for foreign audiences.

Investigator: Are they mainly used for translation only?

TO02: Yes! Only providing some aids. Actually, there have been numerous foreign viewers without reading subtitles. They just appreciate the emotional expression, overall performances and the atmosphere created by operas. Therefore, I feel dramas have no borders. Therefore, the audience can about understand the meaning transmitted by performers. They just take rough look of our plot summary on advertising fliers. They can about understand what we try to express and it is not necessary to watch subtitles.

Investigator: So, your performances are widely accepted, right?

TO02: Yes! We used to conduct performances in Hawaii. After our performances were completed, the audience were passionate and stood up with both hands applauding for a long time. We were deeply moved.



Investigator: Well!

TO02: We stepped down from the stage and shook hands with every viewer. Finally, there was a viewer donating us 600 USDs and saying he liked our performances. He came to the backstage to shake hands with us. He is a foreigner. Although we could not understand what was talking about, we could feel his passion.

Investigator: Sure! He was very passionate.

TO02: The same situation also happened to the tragedy performance in France. There were viewers shedding tears. We were really moved by them.

Investigator: Are you a paid administrative staff? Do you have any other paid professional performer?

TO02: We do have paid professional performers.

Investigator: However, the income mainly comes from commercial performances, right?

TO02: Yes!

Investigator: Were you ever sponsored by governments for foreign performances?

TO02: We used to apply for governmental subsidy for our foreign performances. By the way, we also invited the sponsorship from enterprises because the cost for foreign performance was very high. Therefore, we searched for any possible sponsorship from various channels.

Investigator: How many members are there for your foreign performances?

TO02: There are about 20 troupe members.

Investigator: How many regular troupe members do you have?

TO02: Plus musicians, there are about 20 regular troupe members. If it is a large performance, we will invite other performers externally.

Investigator: Your troupe conducts numerous public performances. Do you often conduct outdoor-stage performances?

TO02: We conduct fewer outdoor-stage performances because we do not only conduct large public performances, but also some other small activities like night banquets, groundbreaking ceremonies and community outreaches.

Investigator: Your performances are never limited to temple festivals merely, right?

TO02: No!

Investigator: Are you invited for year-end banquets of companies?

TO02: Yes! We also conduct the performances for year-end banquets of companies. Sometimes, some PR companies are requested by a foreign tourist team. If so, we will be invited for performances in front of the foreign tourist team.

Investigator: Can you determine the relationships among cultural industries, intangible heritage and your troupe?

TO02: Our troupe head dares to make innovation. During her innovation process, she started

from the traditional route and then she made innovation. It means she makes divergent trials. She supposes Taiwanese Opera are a kind of fine art. If Taiwanese Opera insist on tradition, it is impossible to keep the pace with the new era. However, at the moment when she makes innovation, she also takes tradition into consideration. She makes innovation on the basis of tradition. Therefore, the essence of Taiwanese Opera is not lost. She hopes there will be more people finding the real beauty of Taiwanese Opera. At the moment when she makes art innovation, she also hopes to enhance art education. Therefore, we make our effort for promotion in the campuses every year.

Investigator: In the campuses?

TO02: Yes! Aside from performer training, audience training is also very important. If we can make children know much about Taiwanese Opera since their childhood. They can appreciate Taiwanese Opera. Thereafter, they naturally become the faithful audience of Taiwanese operas. By the way, they probably become performers of Taiwanese Opera also. We are planning to sow more seeds in Taiwanese Opera and allow more people willing to engage in this field. This the sincere expectation of our troupe head. Therefore, aside from campus performances, she also highly emphasizes education. We often conduct campus education, student club education and community education as well.

Investigator: To my knowledge, you were invited to instruct school principals before. How about their learning attitudes? Do you feel they learn Taiwanese Opera just for policies or competitions?

TO02: Actually, most participants of the school principals really like Taiwanese Opera and join the activity.

Investigator: Are they forced to join the activity? For example, does the Kaohsiung County Hall regulate the first rank officers must join the activity? Or, do the participants volunteer to join the activity?

TO02: Some school principals volunteer to join the activity. However, there are still some participants showing up because of the attendance of the county head. If there is no attendance of the county head, they probably join other activities. However, to my knowledge, most participants really like Taiwanese Opera and join the activity.

Investigator: As you say, the most rudimentary things can never be abandoned. What is the most traditional part to your mind?

TO02: Well! I feel it should be the arias of Taiwanese Opera. At present, there are numerous troupes arranging new stuffs in performances.

Investigator: New arrangements?

TO02: Yes! Although innovation is a good thing, yet it seems something is missing in a whole opera.

Investigator: Too modern, right?

TO02: Yes! Therefore, when our troupe head is making innovation, there must be some 7-word Tunes and Duma Tunes in operas and then it is just available for some variations.

Investigator: Do you mean main melodies are kept unchanged but just added with abundant arrangements? IS there any new music instrument added?

TO02: Yes! Such arrangements make styles different. Singing arias are also changed slightly. For example, the aria styles of an identical 7-word tune can be different if the tune is sung by different performers. The 7-word Tunes can be very traditional and they can be very modern reversely. There used to be a performance in a wedding show. We sang a 7-word tune accompanied with flute playing and the feeling is quite charming.

Investigator: A new style of performance.

TO02: Yes! A kind of innovation but no uncoordinated sense found.

Investigator: You say young participants are always highly welcomed. However, it is impossible to accept all participants. You must have some filtering selections. Do you have any rudimentary conditions for the participation of new comers?

TO02: Well! The basic conditions of new troupe members (such as appearances, figures and voices) should be taken into consideration certainly. We usually know a new troupe member at a specific occasion. If the young man is interested in joining our troupe, we still have to observe this young man for a while. If we do feel this is an excellent member candidate, we will give him some minor roles for trials. If the new candidate really performs excellently, we will consider him to be our formal troupe member. If we find something unsuitable for the new candidate from trial performances, thereafter, we won't invite him for our performances.

Investigator: For the overall management over your troupe or members, do you have any rules to make your troupe better organized or protect your troupe or members?

TO02: Actually, for Taiwanese Opera, there is no rule to regulate performers. What make it more specific are some rules over performances, rehearsals or theatres.

Investigator: Is your troupe not a contractual organisation?

TO02: Yes! However, the leading roles for large performances should enter contacts with our troupe. But, for some small performances, it is unnecessary to enter contacts.

Investigator: Do you mean verbal commitment is alright?

TO02: Yes! Regarding our administrative staffs, we have some on-duty rules such as the rules over on-duty times, arrival signatures, pays or leaves.

Investigator: What about the business hours for your administrative staffs?

TO02: Normally, our business hours start from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm. However, during the performance period, it is unavailable for such business hours.

Investigator: Do you work overtime late?

TO02: Yes! Particularly, we work from morning to midnight recently.

Investigator: Do you eat lunch boxes at noontime?

TO02: If there are rehearsals, we eat lunch boxes together; otherwise, every member eats lunch by himself or herself. During the period from last year to this year, our schedules are never interrupted. Therefore, we have been always busy and our work is often finished late at midnight. Our jobs become responsibilities and we have no regular off-duty time.

Investigator: Do your troupe members accept the performance invitations from other troupes?

TO02: Actually, if there is no performance schedule clashing with your own troupe, it is alright to accept the performance invitations from other troupes. However, be sure to take first priority for the performance schedules of your own troupe. Accepting the performance invitations from others is just available when the schedules of your own troupe are free.

TO02: However, core troupe members always take good care of their own career reputations.

Investigator: Are they more cohesive?

TO02: Yes! Core troupe members have rare performances for other troupes because they suppose they are the images of their own troupe. They never hope to establish a wrong impression to make audience feel they work for various troupes simultaneously. Like us, we are performers and also handle administrative affairs. We are exactly core troupe members. Therefore, we won't do something like that. For other performers, they just go for performances merely. Because they are paid on the basis of every performance occasion, if they are forbidden to go for performances of other troupes, they probably face economic hardship. We are paid monthly and the situation is quite different.

Investigator: If so, what about your jobs in charge?

TO02: I mainly deal with planning or governmental documents. Regarding other troupe members, we have a member majoring in art and he is in charge of art design including poster design, website maintenance, some stage props and whatever relevant to art editing. We have another member good at stage management such as costume management or the planning for stage backgrounds or props. It is quite a tough job and you have to check countless stuff for stage arrangements.

Investigator: Are your costumes made by outsourcing makers?

TO02: Costumes have to be made by outsourcing makers because we have no time doing this job. We are busy in learning operas and administrative affairs. We are badly unavailable to deal with costumes. However, the member in charge of stage management can design and make head decorations especially some head decorations difficult for outsourcing

customary production. We usually make head decorations for ourselves. But, for large public performances, head decorations should be coordinated with overall design. However, if for ordinary outdoor-stage opera performances, we usually make head decorations by ourselves.

Investigator: Is your troupe head in charge of dealing with official subsidy or enterprise fund?

TO02: Our troupe head deals with most affairs of public relationship because she represents the whole troupe with the authority to negotiate with others. I am a backup staff in charge of planning, governmental document submission or achievement reports.

Investigator: Do you have any idea when you are applying for subsidy from governmental raising projects? Do you have any suggestions for governmental cultural policies?

TO02: I feel the governmental selection for subsidy applications is not so fair sometimes. It is not open and transparent enough. For example, sometimes we fail in some applications and we want to know why the cases fail. Are these cases with inferior planning arrangements or there is something required for further improvement. However, you cannot find the answer even if you pose the question. The governmental agency says the appraisal results cannot be opened to the public. For my part, we feel it is quite normal channel. Why cannot make this channel widely opened to the public?

Investigator: Do you know what about the appraisal items?

TO02: Sometimes governmental agencies publicly announce the notice, but there is no clear appraisal item found, especially some agencies closer to the central departments. It is more difficult to understand what they are doing?

Investigator: I do feel slightly amazed because I always suppose your troupe is well-known for its decent scale. Why you face such difficulties?

TO02: There must a situation like this happening. However, I don't mean our every subsidy application fails. Like the subsidy projects of the Council for Cultural Affairs, all our cases failed in the past. However, this year, we have a successful application case. However, in view of local governmental agencies, we are well tendered by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Kaohsiung City. Our performances are well affirmed by it. I just can say the central agencies know little about us. Sometimes, you find there are always some specific teams selected for governmental subsidy every year.

Investigator: Does such a situation make feel unfair?

TO02: We suppose during the review process, we should understand our weakness even if we fail in subsidy applications.

Investigator: I see!

TO02: If it is not an open appraisal operation, everyone naturally casts doubts on this operation.

Investigator: I understand what you mean. When your troupe members come here for training,

do you also learn something about theories aside from postures and arias?

TO02: We learn little about theories.

Investigator: Most effort is spent on performances. Do you mean most effort is spent on opera skills?

TO02: Yes! We learn some introductory lessons from external classes held by the Society Universities or some other symposiums.

Investigator: Like the classes of citizen education classes, right?

TO02: Yes! In the lessons, our troupe head introduces something about the development, characteristics and arias of Taiwanese Opera. However, such lessons relevant to theories are unavailable for troupe members usually.

Investigator: When you are designing plots or actions, do you have any exchange available?

TO02: We certainly have some exchanges available. For example, we invite directors to direct our performances. Based on plot demands, directors inform troupe members what about the categories and characteristics for the roles played by everyone, along with the acting ways. There will be some communications existing. Therefore, it is never just rigidly following the acting patterns but requires full understanding about the actions. If so, it is just available to conduct better performances.

Investigator: What stuffs can become intangible cultural heritages to your mind?

TO02: Oh! It is more abstract. I feel my troupe head is a woman always knowing what he will do. She has numerous ideas applied to Taiwanese Opera with numerous beautiful contexts shown from Taiwanese Opera. It is available to generate new thinking. I just liked watching Taiwanese Opera before and I never knew there are numerous trail chances available for Taiwanese Opera. I never knew before and it is really beyond my imagination.

Investigator: What is the star sign of your troupe head?

TO02: She is a Capricorn.

Investigator: What is your constellation?

TO02: I am an Aries. Therefore, I feel some ideas of my troupe head are precious and valuable. She can lead our troupe to develop a unique style totally different from other opera troupes. In a nutshell, I do feel our troupe is quite different from other troupes. They are exactly the ideas of our troupe head leading us in a unique direction.

Investigator: If so, do you mean innovative ideas are exactly the most precious assets?

TO02: Exactly, It is because I do feel if there is no innovative idea, we finally become a mediocre opera troupe merely and no one will feel something special about your troupe.

Investigator: Do you feel you have something spiritual in your troupe to make your troupe totally different from other troupes aside from innovation?

TO02: It is the part relevant to promotion education. To engage in community education is quite a tough job. However, even if our troupe head is tied by busy schedules, she is still highly willing to engage in promotion education. Whenever she is invited for student club lessons, she is paid meagrely.

Investigator: NTD 600 or 800, right?

TO02: Yes! The pay is meagre. Others are unwilling to do such a job. However, we feel our effort is worthy. Therefore, we are high willing to engage in such education jobs. Additionally, not every opera troupe is competent for education jobs. Student clubs are unsuitable for traditional training and teaching ways. You must be previously affirmed by students and then make students know clearly about your ideals. It is nothing just about singing verse by verse merely. You must interact with students and then the teaching ways should be vivid. There are some modern ideas to be added and make students know Taiwanese Opera can keep pace with the fashionable trend.

Investigator: Do you mean changing the stereotype impression on Taiwanese Opera?

TO02: Yes! For ordinary performers of Taiwanese Opera, they just share their performance experience in Taiwanese Opera. Our troupe members are different from others and they take deeper roots in promotion education.

Investigator: Taking community development for example, does your troupe member still continue her job?

TO02: Do you mean the job in the Chang-Cheng Community?

Investigator: Well!

TO02: It is because the Chang-Cheng Community passed the subsidy application and invited our troupe head for instruction. If the subsidy applications are passed and we are invited, we are highly willing to do some. Actually, we have some passive and active teaching projects. We are also passively invited by some organisations. However, like the teaching project in a community managed by the Xing-Yi Housing, it is an active teaching project. Oh! Actually, the project at this community has been promoted for 5 years. In the past, we taught Taiwanese Opera in other district. Thereafter, the learning fever of local residents to learn Taiwanese Opera was provoked. Like a case last year, we started our teaching project in nearby community of with a temple. We moved to this area in 2007. Yes! Last year, we just started our effort focusing on this region. We interacted with local residents and proactively submitted our proposals to win the collaboration chances with this community. In the past, we were often invited for performances at the h music all. The performance scale can be under our control with the budget about from NTD 1 million to 2 million. However, the budget for this performance has exceeded NTD 3 million. The chief of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Kaohsiung City hope our performances can be arranged into the project of the Spring

Art Festival with our performance scale totally promoted.

Investigator: A national performance, right?

TO02: Exactly! We hope our performances can reach a certain level and then all performance casts should be enhanced. Therefore, famous performers and production teams will be invited for our performances. It can be clearly seen they cost much. However, unlike our opera performers, they are amiable for negotiations. They are all generous with lower pays available for performances.

Investigator: Did they reduce prices?

TO02: Yes! They did, but prices were still very high. Only the cost for stages was NTD 990,000 excluding design fees. How could we afford it? Thereafter, we bargained with them further and made them reduce stage cost down to NTD 500,000 below. However, there were still design fees and the cost was also considerable. Therefore, only the part of stages cost more than NTD 500,000 or 600,000. In addition, costume also cost NTD 700,000 or 800,000. However, we made whatever effort to reduce the cost downward to NTD 500,000 below. Stage cost was NTD 500,000. Costume cost was another NTD 500,000. We have to pay for lighting cost, performer salaries, director charges, music and design fees were also taken into consideration. The total cost was quite a heavy burden to us. Therefore, we have to raise fund by ourselves. Otherwise, the subsidy from the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Kaohsiung City Hall was very limited. All the performance cost should be burdened by us.

Investigator: Actually, sometimes it really results in dilemma to opera troupes. When troupes receive no subsidy, there will no performance cost to worry. Once subsidy is deficient, the dilemma is naturally coming.

TO02: Yes! The governments give us meagre subsidy but expect us to do something beyond. The part beyond the subsidy will be fulfilled by us. The trouble is if we want to produce performances with excellent quality, we never know how to compensate the economic deficiency. Who can fill up the eco gap? It is quite tough situation.

Investigator: For our country, the overall budget for cultural construction is meagre.

TO02: Yes! People from the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Kaohsiung City have just made their best. Actually, their budget is highly deficient.

Investigator: If so, why don't you refuse their invitation?

TO02: It is because from the very beginning the bureau chief had not explained clearly to us. He said he would give us subsidy, but he did not tell us the exact amount of subsidy. He just said he would help us and did whatever he could.

Investigator: Therefore, you just spent all effort to make preparation for your performances. However, later on, you found some problems happening to expenditures.

TO02: Exactly!



Investigator: Did you contact government agents or panel members before? Did they often watch your performances?

TO02: Actually, their attendances are just because of our previous invitation. There is no one proactively telling us the attendance of any governmental officer or panel member. We often proactively invite some VIP like the mayor or the bureau chief of cultural affairs to watch our performances because they always have busy schedules. It is frequently unavailable to watch our performances. Most panel members, especially the members from Taipei, they have no time to watch our performances. Therefore, at that time we made presentation on Taipei, we found more than half of the overall panel members never watched our performances before. They judged our performances through written information only.

Investigator: I heard you said you used to play some satirical operas to quip some phenomena.

TO02: As our troupe head supposes, the subsidy units with higher importance always bring about very unfair appraisal results with some highly unreasonable phenomena found. For example, people enjoying intimate partnerships with one of the panel members can be always selected for subsidy. Our troupe head is not a person fond of such interpersonal relationship. Therefore, she never caters to the appraisal panel or establishes the partnerships with its members. Perhaps, panel members suppose our troupe head is so proud.

Investigator: Do they think your troupe head is not a good person to get along with?

TO02: Yes! They suppose our troupe head never conducts any social actions with them or attempts to show any 'goodwill'.

Investigator: As we now, things should never be so complex.

TO02: Our troupe head suppose it is improper. Perhaps there are some troupes inviting so-called 'consultants'. If so, they can naturally have more performance chances available. However, we do not invite consultants and this is why we lose some performance chances. We can feel certain committee members seem eager for something. However, our troupe never likes such situations. Therefore, we do lose some performance chances. We really arrange a metaphor in the performance. The committee member might watch the show and felt uncomfortable. For our part, we just make understatement only. Actually, ordinary viewers never feel something different, but if someone acts like that, they would sense the satirical meanings. From then on, we always failed in any applications submitted to the central units for reviewing. It used to be a quite awful situation.

**Participant: TO03**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Staff**

**Time: 10.50-12.40 4<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Restaurant**

Investigator: What about your ordinary job?

TO03: My job is in charge of public safety at work.

Investigator: Public safety at work?

TO03: Something about engineering.

Investigator: Engineering? Are you dealing with sales affairs?

TO03: Yes! The administration is concerned with labour safety.

Investigator: I see!

TO03: I also do something about administrative affairs.

Investigator: As you said, you do your ordinary from Monday to Friday and spare your free time to help your troupe, right?

TO03: I also spend my regular work time to give some aids whenever available.

Investigator: Do you have brothers and sisters?

TO03: No! I have only one cousin.

Investigator: Are you the only child in your family?

TO03: Actually, our troupe was established by the collaboration between my mother and my aunt. Now, the son of my aunt (my cousin), also has set another troupe.

Investigator: Oh?

TO03: Actually, we grew up together. We belong to the same troupe but share with different troupe name merely.

Investigator: So, do these two troupes co-perform usually?

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: Why your Mom is so unwilling for interviews? Is she busy in meeting a big crowd of visitors?

TO03: No! The reason is that her health is poor, with no sufficient energy for talking.

Investigator: Is your Mom still performing?

TO03: No! She is currently a boss and director, like a role of storytelling.

Investigator: Which artist is the leading role of your troupes now?

TO03: The leading role is the wife of my cousin, the daughter-in-law of my aunt.

Investigator: So, you are the only one child of your mother and the other family are children of your aunt.

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: Yet, Ms Lin is not your consanguinity, right?

TO03: Actually, I treat her like my mother because of a long and firm sisterhood between my mother and my aunt. They have lived together for years. My cousin lives outside is because our house is crowded.

Investigator: So, most are outdoor-stage performances, right? Do you offer performances like year-end banquets of companies or celebration activities?

TO03: We have no chances to accept such invitations because most of them require some singing shows and varieties.

Investigator: They don't prefer Taiwanese Opera, right?

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: Have had you ever joined any large public performances sponsored by official authorities?

TO03: Yes, we did join some art events before.

Investigator: If you go on public performances, which troupe title will be proposed?

TO03: It depends on who is negotiating the case.

Investigator: The one negotiating with clients is in charge, right?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: Who is the one in charge of external bargaining affairs for your troupe?

TO03: My mother is in charge of external negotiations for this troupe. Regarding another troupe, my cousin is in charge.

Investigator: How old is your mother?

TO03: He is nearly 70.

Investigator: Wow! An artist aging nearly 70 is quite a senior figure in this field.

TO03: She started to learn Taiwanese Opera when she was only teenagers.

Investigator: The seniority is close to 50 or 60 years.

TO03: Right! More than 50 years.

Investigator: Does your mother still teach new comers something about arias and postures?

TO03: No! She doesn't.

Investigator: If so, who is in charge of teaching these lessons?

TO03: It is fairly an embarrassing fact for us because we do have a huge gap of transmission in our troupe.

Investigator: A huge gap of transmission? Why?

TO03: When some performances are going on, senior artists randomly show new members how to act. We have no sufficient budgets to vocational training. They usually have no ordinary training but crash practice before performances only.

Investigator: Are there any other senior artists in this troupe?

TO03: Yes! We do have some but their ages have been 50 or 60 more.

Investigator: Are they all opera performers?

TO03: No! They are dispatched from some other troupes.

Investigator: What about being dispatched from some other troupes?

TO03: They are dispatched from other troupes.

Investigator: Yes! I understand. I asked are they from professional troupes? Which professional troupes do they belong to?

TO03: They are some other troupes with fewer performances average.

Investigator: If so, they accompany with you only when your performances are available, right?

TO03: Yes! It's because my mother also teaches some lessons herself.

Investigator: Do these artists have their own regular jobs?

TO03: No! They do not.

Investigator: They are hired only when role vacancies are available, right?

TO03: Yes! There are quite few opera performers with sidelines. They are paid only by actual perform days. For example, they perform 20 days and 20 days of wages are paid. Now, there is no difference between full-time performers - formal troupe members or part-time performers (performers dispatched from other troupes). We are not in a good economic condition; otherwise, some troupe bosses would lend money to their troupe members. Such a sum of money is so-called 'Ban-De', which is a widely seen phenomenon among troupes.

Investigator: Is 'Ban-De' meaning part-time performers borrowed from other troupes, namely extras?

TO03: No! It means the money borrowed by full-time performers from their troupe bosses.

Investigator: It similarly means salary advance, right?

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: I see! Do you have your own fixed members currently?

TO03: Yes! We do.

Investigator: How many?

TO03: About six or seven.

Investigator: Excluding members of another troupe, how many do you have?

TO03: Actually, both troupes belong to a team together.

Investigator: We cannot be separated.

TO03: It is difficult to evaluate labour force if both troupes are separated.

Investigator: In that case, the leading role is the wife of your cousin?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: Are any other fixed members out there?

TO03: There are about eight fixed full-time members in our troupes.

Investigator: Do you count yourself in?

TO03: No! Except me! There are about 8 full-time performers. Ordinarily, there are two or three fixed performers playing stringed and percussion instruments. We do have 2 performers - one is a drum player and the other is playing keyboard.

Investigator: Is there any string player?

TO03: No!

Investigator: Is music of Taiwanese Opera currently played with keyboard in your troupe? If so, do you have your own keyboard player?

TO03: Yes! We have only two performers for accompany with musical instruments.

Investigator: What about the leading roles?

TO03: The protagonists should be played by females.

Investigator: Are they fixed performers?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: Who does play your young female leading roles?

TO03: They are all new members.

Investigator: Well! There have been four fixed performers including a male leading role, a female leading role and two incidental music players. What about other four performers?

TO03: In Taiwanese Opera troupes, ordinarily, there are two male leading roles. One is called Xiao Sheng and the other one is called Cai Hua. The role called Cai Hua stands for a villain. Then, there is a Fu Sheng available.

Investigator: Fu Sheng?

TO03: Fu Sheng means the role only secondary to the male leading role.

Investigator: Do you mean the second male leading role?

TO03: Yes, in Taiwanese Opera, there are mainly three male roles as I mentioned.

Investigator: If so, there are two male leading roles, namely the first and the second male leading roles in a troupe.

TO03: Exactly! There must be a role called Cai-Hua as a villain.

Investigator: How about the plot arrangement between two male leading roles?

TO03: It depends on scripts.

Investigator: Do you mean the role appropriateness for performers?

TO03: Yes! Male leading roles always play the most important roles.

Investigator: Are they fixed performers?

TO03: Leading roles are normally troupe owners' trusted followers.

Investigator: If so, what is your sister-in-law?

TO03: She is the male leading role exactly.

Investigator: Is there any new members joining your troupe now?

TO03: It is very difficult. First, we cannot pay them well. Second, it is hard to find anyone with such specialties. In a word, there is poor resource available.

Investigator: May I ask your remuneration fees? How about the average remuneration for an outdoor-stage performance?

TO03: We usually hire opera troupes for clients. For an ordinary contractual performance, the price level should be NTD 26,000 above with stage setting included.

Investigator: How about the highest price?

TO03: It depends on the requests from clients. We can also perform an opera show with the price around NTD 40,000 or 50,000. It means there are numerous performers required.

Investigator: A big cast?

TO03: A larger stage setting.

Investigator: As you mentioned, the ordinary price is rated at NTD 26,000. In that case, is there any opera show pricing under NTD 26,000?

TO03: Lower price? There is a form of performance playing cassettes. The price is about at NTD 17,000 or 18,000.

Investigator: The price gap is approximately NTD 9,000. You mean the price of NTD 26,000 is to perform live, right?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: In such a situation, which opera show do you prefer?

TO03: Since we started our opera shows, we have never performed an opera show with playing cassettes.

Investigator: You have always performed a live opera show, right?

TO03: Our opera troupe must do so because my mother is exactly the performer from theatres in the past.

Investigator: Theatre performers?

TO03: Yeah! Theatre performers used to be ticket-show performers at theatres. As such, they never provided any performances with playing cassettes.

Investigator: How about the average salary for an ordinary member of Taiwanese Opera troupes? Are they paid by day or month?

TO03: We are actually paid by every really-performed day merely.

Investigator: Paid by day? You mean troupe performers live a life with unstable economic conditions, right?

TO03: In a year, the high seasons start from January to July. Then, August and September are low seasons. The period in October, the opera shows in November and December are only available less than five days.

Investigator: Is it because there are numerous birthdays of Gods in the first half year, right?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: Your cousin and his wife spend their whole time in running this Taiwanese Opera troupe, right?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: I see! What year were your cousin and his wife born in?

TO03: My cousin was born in 1967 and my sister-in-law was born in 1977.

Investigator: If so, is there any younger troupe member?

TO03: We have a younger troupe member. She was born in 1986.

Investigator: Why does she have such an opportunity to join your troupe?

TO03: She used to work another troupe. My cousin found this girl taking huge interests in Taiwanese Opera. She was head hunted by my cousin after her graduation from university.

Investigator: Why can your cousin make her headhunted from another troupe?

TO03: It is an excellent diplomacy from my cousin.

Investigator: Do you pay her higher. Otherwise, do you have closer art ideals one another?

TO03: Frankly speaking, we do have more shows available for her.

Investigator: Do you mean outdoor-stage performances available?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: For example, some other troupes maybe have more public performances, but there are fewer outdoor-stage performances available, right?

TO03: Yes! They have fewer outdoor-stage performances. Additionally, we can offer some more important roles for performers hired from other troupes.

Investigator: Do you mean they are all minor roles from other troupes?

TO03: They played minor roles together with dancing from other troupes.

Investigator: They are not important roles?

TO03: Yes! They are minor roles.

Investigator: Does the lady born in 1986 learn opera on her own after she joined your troupe?

TO03: We have a senior performer and the girl can be instructed when the senior performer is present. My mother also instructs this new comer something about arias or postures.

Investigator: As you said, when your mother are instructing, does she teach singing like the Seven-word tune or the Duma tune a verse by a verse?

TO03: For the older generations, they didn't practice singing a verse by a verse. They just took whatever chances they could to learn singing silently by the side. It was impossible for learning a verse by a verse.

Investigator: Does your mother use the way of singing a verse by a verse when she instructs members?

TO03: Yes, my mother also plays keyboard.

Investigator: Could she play keyboard from being a teenager? Or did she learn to play

keyboard at an older age?

TO03: She learned how to play keyboard when aging 40 something.

Investigator: Well! She is quite a talented artist.

TO03: I also learn to play keyboard but I quit learning. However, learning to play keyboard cannot make living. However, I finally discontinue my learning.

Investigator: Um! It is a widely seen situation of troupes of traditional performing arts.

TO03: My cousin and I hope to make our troupes with successful enterprise management.

Investigator: The Ming Hua Yuan Taiwanese Opera Troupe is a very successful model for enterprise management. Do you want to follow this successful model?

TO03: No! We don't follow their model because they have a family with remarkably numerous members. They have ample administrative resources. Their troupe leader is our intimate friend just like our uncle. The troupe leader enjoys a long and firm friendship with my mother.

Investigator: Do you mean Mr Sheng-Fu Chen?

TO03: Mr Chen has numerous brothers and they do have more resources. They have an office on Taipei and establish a close relationship with the CCA. Therefore, they can perform large public performances probably commissioned by the CCA. The Ming Hua Yuan Troupe maybe handles some projects commissioned by the CCA. If so, it seems administrative resources are assigned partially. I mean differential economic supports. They also support the Yi-Hsin Troupe on Taipei and this troupe is exactly the family of Ms Tsuei-Feng Sun, Chen's wife.

Investigator: As far as I am concerned, Ms Sun is originally a mainlander. After she married Mr Chen, she started to learn Taiwanese Opera, right?

TO03: In fact, the Sun family have their own troupe.

Investigator: Why Ms Sun didn't touch Taiwanese Opera before?

TO03: Ms Sun's father used to be an action supporting role of Beijing Opera. Her elder brother is the chief of the Yi-Xing Troupe. Formerly, he used to play some roles in Ms Li-Hua Yang's troupe of Taiwanese Opera on TV. Then, he formed his own troupe later.

Investigator: You say you were born in 1978, but how do you know much about the past histories of Taiwanese Opera?

TO03: Well! I am a child raised by a Taiwanese Opera troupe. I started my childhood at the Taiwanese Opera troupe. I remember that I would act as gods or some other roles on performances before.

Investigator: Have you experienced the period of theatre performances?

TO03: I am afraid no.

Investigator: What is the time when theatre era ended?



TO03: It is about in the 1960s when TV started to take the stage.

Investigator: Yet, you were not born in that era. Did your mother tell you most histories?

TO03: Yes! The Tian-Hsiang Troupe was established in 1976. Therefore, it started its history earlier than the Chuen-Chiou Troupe.

Investigator: As you said, there have been some gaps of transmission existing. Do you really watch the situation worsened helplessly? Or are you planning to do something with the transmission continued?

TO03: We do have some plans to continue the troupe inheritance but impeded by capital resources.

Investigator: Do you mean almost all Taiwanese Opera troupes will be closed or merged some day? Do you wonder there will be few large Taiwanese Opera troupes existing eventually? What is your opinion?

TO03: Such a situation is highly possible.

Investigator: The large troupes will become larger just like monetary holding companies in Taiwan.

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: Will the merge of various troupes cause role arrangement conflict between male leading roles?

TO03: I don't think so.

Investigator: Why not?

TO03: If there is merely a male leading role, it seems alright for some other roles. However, for a performer playing the male leading role in a troupe, he will be reluctant to play a second or third role.

Investigator: If some troupes are merged into a troupe, how about the role arrangement for some members with the same roles especially the role arrangement for some male leading roles in the same troupe?

TO03: It is a tough issue. Usually, the young male leading role should be played by the member intimate to the troupe boss. It is impossible for finding a male leading role from outsiders. If so, the troupe boss cannot handle his own group.

Investigator: If merged, two representatively excellent male leading roles cannot collaborate in the same troupe together, right?

TO03: Exactly! There must be someone sacrificed. Most male leading roles leave their own troupes and then troupe bosses will sell out everything of their own troupes.

Investigator: As you said, it seems two male leading roles can never work in a troupe together. It is impossible for two troupes at the climax of their business to merge together. There must be one declined already. The troupe with better operation will take in performers remain in that troupe to work together and become a larger one.

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: I see!

Investigator: Does your mother stay at home or accompany with the troupe for performances?

TO03: She usually stays at home if there are not any performances going on.

Investigator: Are your mother invited for school or community courses?

TO03: No! She is not available because of her inconvenience in mobility.

Investigator: Do you mean your mother suffers from foot health problems?

TO03: Does she feel better now? The second problem is she always feels energy-less after too much talking.

Investigator: Does your mother feel better now?

TO03: She feels better now, but suffered from bad health conditions in the past. It seems like modern civilisation diseases.

Investigator: Like your mother aging 70, she has experienced the theatre performance period with excellent professional skills. Do you think she is a qualified master for Taiwanese Opera?

TO03: Something is never as we supposed by ourselves only. I personally prefer the male leading role played by my aunt.

Investigator: Why?

TO03: It is because in the past, my mother usually played clown roles, but my aunt often played the male leading role.

Investigator: How old is your aunt?

TO03: 75 years old.

Investigator: She is older than your mother.

TO03: Yeah! She is very enchanting whenever she steps on the stage.

Investigator: Really?

TO03: She is not a beautiful woman but featuring with irresistible charm.

Investigator: Do you mean her imposing manners?

TO03: She used to perform in several nations like Malaysia, Philippine, Indonesia and Singapore.

Investigator: How do you know something about this, from photographs?

TO03: Some photos have been missed. I could not see her performances till she stopped her performances a couple of years ago.

Investigator: Therefore, you did witness her performances, right?

TO03: However, we have no any more chances to witness her performances. It is a shame that there have been not video records of her previous performances. If there are some video records available, we can enjoy her irresistible charm while she was acting the male leading role.

Investigator: Are there numerous fans crazy for her performances?

TO03: Yes, there are many fans putting her on a pedestal and offering her cash gifts.

Investigator: It is exactly the way like fans crazy for idols.

TO03: Offering money often happened in shows abroad.

Investigator: Do you mean there are numerous overseas Chinese people offering money? I have heard that there were numerous fans offering money, gold or houses to their idols in the early period.

TO03: Yeah! It is due to that overseas Chinese people in the era feeling homesick seriously. Whenever they saw any Taiwanese Opera and witness the excellent performances of the male leading role, they might offer money in a competitive mode of offering the amount. While there was one offering USD 60 or 70, there would be another one offering the sum more than USD 70.

Investigator: I can imagine that no one was willing to offer less than others.

TO03: Yeah! Definitely!

Investigator: How about the health condition of your aunt?

TO03: Her situation is just like an elder.

Investigator: Do you mean it is a health problem due to aging?

TO03: Elder people naturally suffer from more aging diseases.

Investigator: You mentioned your mother engages in some tasks like being director. What about the current job of your aunt?

TO03: She always stays at home.

Investigator: Already retired entirely? Sometimes, your mother instructs troupe members, but your aunt cannot do any further that is restricted by his older age, right?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: What a shame! There is no any video record of your past performances. Can your mother dictate some past histories?

TO03: She is now writing some scripts, but I have no time to compile these scripts. Actually, I had any experience about how to record her past performances.

Investigator: What are you mainly busy in during off days?

TO03: I also take some other part-time jobs.

Investigator: Do you mean you engage in your regular jobs in labour safety during day time and also take part-time during night time?

TO03: Yes! Yet, we do intend for enterprise management of our troupes.

Investigator: What about your doings?

TO03: To my mind, there are some surrounding businesses of Taiwanese Opera available.

Investigator: For example?

TO03: For example, something like productions of costumes and props are available for

sidelines.

Investigator: What about video release?

TO03: Well! If applicable, we will be glad to do so and ensure the living of performers. If possible, we intend to introduce some job opportunities for our performers.

Investigator: Regarding costumes, no matter for the Tian-Hsiang Troupe and the Chuen-Chiou Troupe, all of these costumes are made by yourselves or by others?

TO03: We collaborate with an elder sister who can make a whole set of costumes well prepared.

Investigator: Is she also an on-troupe member?

TO03: Exactly!

Investigator: I know costumes of some troupes are commissioned by others. If there are some talents in your troupes, will you commission this professionally job to the members? Then, they can also accept the cases.

TO03: Yes, we do have such a talent.

Investigator: If so, her living can be well kept.

TO03: Yes, we will try to introduce them more cases. I am curious about how members of foreign troupes how to afford their livelihoods.

Investigator: Taking musicals for example, those artists can go on performances regularly. I have seen some musicals. As I knew, most viewers are tourists. Even if there were no fully-occupied events, yet there were rather a large audience attending at. Every theatre is arranged with a fixed drama, and performances are on almost every day. Comparatively, in Taiwan, there is not any theatre being dedicated to a specific opera. Our local performers have to go on various operas, particularly on the outdoor stages. Those performers are just passively waiting for opportunities to perform. This is shall be the remarkable difference between both of them, I think.

TO03: Indeed. There is not any platform available. I personally feel it is concerned with the level of local audience.

Investigator: More and more viewers prefer western contents. As you can see, there used to be lots of sold-out events of musicals. However, it is quite difficult for local viewers to buy a ticket of Taiwanese Opera with a good price.

TO03: Yeah, there are still some high-priced shows of Taiwanese Opera very popular such as Ms Li-HuaYang's performances. She always enjoys excellent box office records due to her eminent fame. Low-priced performances are widely seen in Southern Taiwan. There are numerous shows only priced at NTD 200, 100 or 50 only. It is quite a widely-seen phenomenon. How can they keep decent living standards with such low price levels? Some famous Taiwanese Opera troupes like the Holo Opera Troupe. They enjoy regularly fixed performance occasions every year.

Investigator: Their troupe members have become professional performers and led a better life without worrying their daily breads. They just need to focus on playing Taiwanese Opera.

TO03: Yeah!

Investigator: As current situations reveal, most Taiwanese Opera troupes have decayed slowly. Do you have any chance to keep in touch with the Municipal Culture Bureau or some central official authorities? Have you ever applied for official subsidies?

TO03: Never!

Investigator: Why?

TO03: It is no use.

Investigator: Have you tried?

TO03: We never tried because we had no such experience before. We have no administrative staff in charge of this.

Investigator: To my knowledge, there are some documents and videos required. First, we are not familiar with the process of application. Second, we don't know how to write a proposal.

TO03: I see!

Investigator: Are your main incomes from outdoor-stage performances?

TO03: Yes! Some large Taiwanese Opera troupes in southern Taiwan like the Tian-Zi Troupe of Ming Hua Yuan, the Chun-Mei Opera Troupe, the Shiu-Kim Troupe along with our Tian-Hsiang Troupe are mainly playing the outdoor-stage performances.

Investigator: You said most of your performances are outdoor, same as the Tian-Zi Troupe of Ming Hua Yuan, right?

TO03: It is one of large opera troupes in southern Taiwan. As you can see, the Ming Hua Yuan is subdivided into numerous smaller troupes.

Investigator: Yeah!

TO03: They have numerous troupes like Tian-Zi, Di-Zi, Xuang-Zi and Huang-Zi. We enjoy a good partnership with the Tian-Zi Troupes.

Investigator: Since you enjoy close partnership, do you collaborate together?

TO03: No, we have never collaborated.

Investigator: Do you mean it is private partnership merely, but every troupe goes on their own shows?

TO03: Our collaboration is merely limited to temporary role fulfilment, but no collaboration reached. It is because close collaboration will cause clash between the primary and the secondary.

Investigator: I see!

TO03: We never have the idea for collaboration.

Investigator: Do you mean you have no close touch with official authorities when you are running your own troupes?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: If you were a policymaker, how would you do to help some troupes of traditional performing arts?

TO03: I think it would be urgently required for an art platform.

Investigator: What sort of art platform would you offer?

TO03: I mean there would be an art platform arranging regular opportunities of performances for our local troupes.

Investigator: However, it seemed quite difficult to make everything fair. How would you do to make it better?

TO03: The performance events should exclude some troupes already subsidised by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) and city halls. The art platform should be used by some troupes with fewer opportunities of public performance.

Investigator: Providing I was a policymaker, I would examine whether the troupes are competent enough to be the art platform instead of providing them stages just because they have fewer opportunities to perform. Otherwise, it is not a best policy. Do you know what I mean?

TO03: Yes, I got you.

Investigator: If the official authority dispatches people to understand your demands and help write proposals, how do you think?

TO03: If so, we will be very glad to accept such supports because most of our troupe members are inexperienced in these affairs.

Investigator: Except me, did any other scholars and official administrators visit your troupe before?

TO03: No, we were only interviewed by a student last year.

Investigator: Have you ever received a survey at the end of last year?

TO03: Yes, it was a simple visit.

Investigator: Do you mean there was no one visiting you before?

TO03: Yes!

Investigator: How strange it is because you are rather active in outdoor-stage performances. It seems scholars and researchers have not been aware of your existence, right?

TO03: I don't know. It is possibly we were unwilling to receive interviews. Recently, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs Kaohsiung City Government adds some details of our troupe into their database, and I am the contactor listed.

Investigator: Yeah! That's why I contact with you.

TO03: Actually, the Tian-Hsiang Troupe lacks such experience in administrative affairs.

Referring to the 2003 public performance in the Taichung Park, my mother had no intention to join in the beginning. Due to enthusiastic supports from the Ming Hua Yuan Troupe, we had the opportunity to present in such a public performance.

Investigator: Do you have any video records of either the Tian-Hsiang Troupe or the Chuen-Chiou Troupe?

TO03: No, we have no video records.

Investigator: Do you have any digital video camera?

TO03: No! We don't have a DV.

Investigator: I would suggest that you should make some records well prepared.

TO03: Well, it seems quite difficult, but we will do it bit by bit.

Investigator: Which part do you think is the most difficult?

TO03: There is no one dedicated to documentary records.

Investigator: It is simple. Just set you DV with a camera holder, and everything will be done.

TO03: I will tell them this idea, but it will probably cause some inconsistent opinions.

Investigator: Have you ever tried to communicate with you cousin?

TO03: Never. Because this is task required for money, I said we lack budgets, so that we cannot afford to buy some equipment. Yet, senior members don't think such a doing is necessary.

Investigator: I see! Your cousin's wife is now the male leading role. Could you please tell me how she develops in arias and gestures? Who can instruct her?

TO03: She learns from her practical performances usually.

Investigator: How long has been the marriage with your cousin?

TO03: About five or six years.

Investigator: OK!

Investigator: Before the role played your sister-in-law, who was playing the male leading role?

TO03: The male leading role was played by my aunt.

Investigator: Does the new female leading role, the girl born in 1976, develop professional skills by herself? The instruction from senior troupe members is only available when they are asked, right?

TO03: Yes! Actually, our troupe members develop themselves in such a way. In view of my knowledge to my mother and my aunt, they just perform their shows - the job they like very much.

Investigator: May I ask about how many show opportunities can you get every month?

TO03: It really depends on various periods. In high seasons, there are 20 days of shows available.

Investigator: Do you mean there are 20-days performances during high seasons?

TO03: Yeah!

Investigator: How about low seasons?

TO03: There are few days of show opportunities during low seasons.

Investigator: Briefly, your troupes are still active in the business of outdoor-stage performances.

TO03: Yes! I think so.

Investigator: I am still wondering why there has been no one paying attention to your troupes.

TO03: I assume that's because we have no an official website but a simple blog.

Investigator: Currently, most people prefer searching information on Internet.

TO03: I do understand the importance of Internet. However, we can only post some information on our blog gradually.

Investigator: Regarding past performances in Philippine of your aunt, was the travel fees paid by her or by the clients?

TO03: Travel fees were paid by the clients, some theatre bosses in Philippine. Those theatre bosses came to Taiwan to find some performers with sound fame to deliver their performances in numerous nations like Philippine, Indonesia and Malaysia.

TO03: Actually, my cousin also makes numerous records and most of the contents deal with the stories of my sister-in-law. You can browse the blog of the Chuen-Chiou Troupe.

Investigator: Do you mean he puts the focus on his wife only? What about more details of the troupes?

TO03: There are few records about their histories.

Investigator: I see!

TO03: If any of our members can use Internet, I will persuade them to develop our blog together.

Investigator: That is good for you.

TO03: Yeah!



**Participant: TO04**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Performer**

**Time: 16.30-17.30, 8<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Restaurant**

Investigator: How did you adapt yourselves when you joined the opera troupe and quitted schooling? Did you have the spiritual support from your younger school mates, good friends, or always on your own?

TO04: The year when I just joined the opera troupe, I had an intimate younger female school mate and she was preparing for joint entrance examination. Actually, I seldom kept in touch with her. All my friends were school mates. I had little touch with them, when I left the school. It was a very tough time at the beginning because I knew nothing about opera troupes and I had to adapt myself to such an environment. However, opera troupes meant a wonderful place. Whenever troupe mates had known you for a minute, they took it for granted you should act and think identical to what they do. From the beginning, they felt strange and supposed I was an inward girl disliking speech.

Investigator: What common points do you have with your troupe mates?

TO04: It means the intimacy 3 minutes after the first sight. They feel everyone belongs to the same circle. They are very passionate, but I am not. I am a girl with less passion at the first sight because of my family and environment.

Investigator: Well!

TO04: Therefore, all my troupe mates feel I am never a girl with sweet speech. From the beginning, I suffer so much. I cannot get along with them like a baby when I am unavailable to reach their requirement.

Investigator: However, if so, everyone in the troupe seems to the same finally. There will no personal uniqueness anymore.

TO04: I felt such a situation with high sameness is because they have spent a long time in the troupe. Additionally, I always ask of something I don't know. When I am thinking of a question, I pose an observing attitude. However, they never realize why I cannot execute things directly. They never explained something for you. For example, I know nothing about the way how to install lighting devices and place stage stuffs.

Investigator: In our troupe, even if you are a girl, there are still numerous things required for your own effort in personal, right?

TO04: Yes! We will do whatever a girl can do. However, like some actions climbing, such chores should be done by stronger men. Actually, I just joined the Taiwanese Opera student club before. However, they always suppose I am normal graduate from

professional opera schools and I should be vested with excellent martial skills like students from professional opera schools.

Investigator: They suppose you are good at some complex martial skills, right?

TO04: Exactly! Actually, there are numerous things I have never seen before. Before I touched opera troupes, I had never watched outdoor-stage operas. Therefore, I had suffered much when I just entered the opera troupe. I never knew if I did something wrong. They never told me and I was proactive to ask of them because I had no idea who could give me the answer. Therefore, at that time, I really suffered so much.

Investigator: Was this the current situation of this opera troupe?

TO04: Yes! I knew nothing about my environment. To adapt to the environment, I had to change my daily life schedules.

Investigator: All your life schedules were adjusted?

TO04: Yes! It was because whenever the opera troupe arrives at another place, the time was close to midnight. At midnight arrival, everyone had to make stuffs well arranged and then there were some chores to be done. Sometimes, when things were done and we tried to take a sleep, the time was close to dawn. Therefore, the overall biological clock should be adjusted. In the first year, it was a very hard time.

Investigator: How did learn operas?

TO04: Regarding opera performances, I learned most of opera performances from TV, DVDs and videos.

TO04: I feel my situation is special. It is because the outdoor-stage opera troupes at that time are not like those at present. The outdoor-stage opera troupes at that time are slightly similar to an apprentice team but the ages of apprentices are younger. Therefore, actually, when I joined my troupe, the cast of basic performers had been full and there was no vacancy for someone like me. At the time when I joined, I just played some minor roles. It was a feverish time everyone advocated cultural transmission. Therefore, opera troupes recruited numerous young men.

Investigator: It means troupes recruited members for feverish trends or slogans, right? It is never meant to fulfil real demands, right?

TO04: I feel if troupes are not like the Holo Opera Troupe with its large scale, outdoor-stage opera troupes never require so many members. It is because troupes change and rarely have a big cast with 20 more roles available during the period of indoor-stage operas. If a troupe with such a large staff scale is excellent, sufficient members can always make role arrangements better with clear plots available. However, to troupe proprietors, it is never cost-efficient and such an arrangement is unnecessary. However, because everyone tries to fill scenes, a good-looking performer seems to be more attractive than a skilled one.

Investigator: A big cast, right?

TO04: Exactly!

Investigator: However, even a good-looking performer costs one more pay in manpower? Is that economical?

TO04: I heard that. For those new beginners, even if troupes give them some allowances and support them dwelling and meals, it is still operable for some troupes excellent in financial management. If a troupe is staffed with sufficient members and conducts performances with big casts, viewers naturally like watching. It is because numerous viewers like watching younger performers.

Investigator: Do viewers really care younger ages of performers, right?

TO04: Yes! They do.

Investigator: If it is meant for performances with big casts, the number of performers will be increased and the cost is naturally mounting. However, if there is no higher remuneration available, how can the troupes survive?

TO04: If so, apprentices will be paid at a fixed amount monthly no matter how many performance occasions are performed by them?

Investigator: They are just like extras, right?

TO04: Yes! Their dwelling and meals have been well tendered. It should be a good deal.

Investigator: What about the motives of new young apprentices devoting to operas from the very basic beginning?

TO04: They join is partially because they are fans adoring an opera player (usually a male of female leading role).

Investigator: The situation is just like fans serving as staff or assistant for their idols, right?

TO04: Yes!

Investigator: It is possible. Is there any other factor?

TO04: There is another reason because their parents are troupe members as performers or musicians. Namely, their parents have close relationship with opera troupes. They have followed parents' steps since childhood. After a long time, they do feel a well-dressed appearance adored by viewers is not bad and they are attracted. They become highly willing to learn Taiwanese Opera. Therefore, I really doubt there is anyone engaging in Taiwanese Opera just because they like operas.

Investigator: Have you ever met someone as you say?

TO04: Yes! I have met. However, the ones as I say often appear in amateur opera troupes. Anyway, if performers can get through the hard time, monthly pay is still better. Like me, I earn NTD 1,500 or 1,600 every day. In the past prosperous time, I could perform 30 days a month. If my daily pay was NTD 1,500, I could earn NTD 40,000 to 50,000 every month. If I were more famous, I would be awarded by the audience with money.

If so, my income grew more, it was better off without worry of eating and dwelling economically.

Investigator: At present, it is a period of economic depression. Is it widely seen that performers are awarded by the audience?

TO04: Such a situation happens in the northern Taiwan more frequently than in southern Taiwan. Famous troupes or performers are often awarded by the audience with money. The class of northern audience is slightly higher and they know much more about appreciation.

Investigator: You have joined this troupe for a long time, if there are chances available for you and your elder sister who plays male leading roles, are you willing to join larger opera troupes?

TO04: I do think so.

Investigator: You will be trapped by interpersonal relationship burdens, right?

TO04: Yes!

Investigator: Is it because there is no one to fulfil the vacancies of male leading roles, right?

TO04: Yes!

Investigator: However, if you really leave the troupe, there will be numerous ones waiting to fulfil the vacancies of male leading roles, right? There is still no adequate performer available, right?

TO04: Yes! It is because our troupe has not raised new talents yet.

Investigator: Are you the youngest one?

TO04: Yes! For the past few years, what frustrated most is the audience always say, 'There is no young performer in our troupe.' My elder sister always replies, 'Oh! These two are the youngest one.'

TO04: I am frustrated. I always ask why northern audience knows to appreciate the performance delicacy of old artists, but the audience somewhere else are just attracted by young performers. I feel the art education of the audience is still deficient. Most audience just emphasize the appearances of performers, but ignore their performances. Therefore, if we leave here, this troupe will be in a big trouble. If the audience just want to see young performers, this troupe having numerous old performers will face its collapse finally.

Investigator: Do the children of your troupe head also work in this troupe?

TO04: They also understand running an opera troupe will suffer economic hardship. Therefore, the son of our troupe head partially works outside and partially supports this troupe. He works so hard.

**Participant: TO05**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Participant: TO06**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Amateur/Teacher**

**Time: 10.00-13.00, 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Office of troupe**

TO05: Our troupe is different from other professional troupes. The most remarkable difference is all our troupe performers are amateur and we engage in Taiwanese Opera performances simply with personal enthusiasm and interests. Therefore, there is no worry for our own livelihoods. We do not perform for our bellies but do it sincerely. Ordinarily, other troupes are commercial organisations and their members are paid. All our members are unpaid staff. We are just like a big family with our best efforts entirely exerted. We are greedy for nothing and never brutally deprive any roles. Without any selfishness, our roles are entirely arranged by high rankers based on individual skills of arias and postures, attitudes of learning and teamwork. The most remarkable difference of our troupe from others is we are an amateur troupe. However, we have regular practice for basic skills every week. We follow the mode of opera schools to train our members. Namely, we highly stress basic opera skills. Other troupes perform and practice their opera skills simultaneously. Instead, we always make good preparations for basic skills previously. This is exactly the very difference between our own troupe and others.

TO06: I have different background from that of our troupe head. She is an elementary school teacher. She did not retire yet during our drills of Taiwanese Opera while I started to work after graduation from high schools. The ways we learned Taiwanese Opera were going to opera workshops. There was a senior artist coming to teach us from Taipei. At that time, we learned opera without any textbook; therefore, we were orally taught by the senior artist. She taught us arias and postures, but there was no training for basic skills. After that, I actually had no ample experiences due to my lack of performing on outdoor stages. In the past, there was no school dedicated to Taiwanese Opera. Even if there was an opera school, there was still no the department of Taiwanese Opera found. Therefore, the transmission was conducted by senior artists and it was a tough job. Thereafter, after we established our own troupe, we found it was required to adjust training modes if we would like to make Taiwanese Opera continued or more refined. At that time, there had been the departments of Taiwanese Opera and these

departments followed the merits of training modes from Beijing Opera. Thereafter, we invited Beijing Opera teachers from Taipei. Teachers instructed opera postures by using their own traditional training systems. Regarding arias, we invited old artists of Taiwanese Opera to teach us. From the beginning, we invited teachers from Taipei to arrange our training programmes. Although we only had free time for practice on Wednesdays or holidays, yet after a while, we found our skills were different from members of other troupes because they would not use this way.

Investigator: As you are all amateurs, do you arrange a timetable of practice on holidays for all members?

TO06: Yes, most members are available.

TO05: Most are available.

Investigator: If so, are there any regular practices or courses at night hours?

TO05: Yes! We work on daytime, so that we only can practice on Wednesday nights.

Investigator: I see!

TO05: It has been scheduled on Wednesdays and never changed for eleven years. In addition, we have few day-off chances except two weeks off during lunar year holidays.

TO06: We also had some days off during typhoon periods.

TO05: For the past decade, the day-off occasions can be counted easily.

TO06: However, we still have team training hours on holidays focus on skill enhancement training usually on Saturdays or Sundays. If there was no performance to make preparations, we have six-hour training a day on Saturdays and Sundays. Training hours start from 2.00 pm to 9.00 pm on Saturdays. On Sundays, training hours start from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm. There are totally twelve hours of intensive training. If there are performances to make preparations, aside from Wednesday training, we have to practice every day, along with intensive training on Saturdays and Sundays during the week before performances.

TO05: We usually have known the exact date of the performance one or two months in advance. Therefore, members can make previous arrangements to set personal affairs away to avoid asking for leaves during the performance. If there is anyone unavoidable to be absent, he or she should notify previously and then someone is arranged to substitute him or her.

Investigator: If there are any health problems happening to performers, how will you do?

TO06: Ha! Ha! Just conduct the performance.

Investigator: Do you still go on to complete the performance?

TO05: It depends on real situations. Because we have numerous members, if there is anyone suffering from health problems unavoidable for performances, we will rapidly send another one to be replacement. However, if it is a large public performance with many

more performers required and almost every member is arranged for performances, it will be a problem to find any suitable one to support.

TO06: However, leading roles are never changed.

TO05: If the leading role got a cold on the performance day, it is impossible to find any substitute. We know a nurse, she will give a timely injection to the ill performer and then the ill performer would recover in no time.

TO06: Actually, we usually take good care of ourselves.

TO05: Yes! If there is any performance needed to go, all members take good care of themselves.

TO06: For small performances, there is nothing to worry about. However, for large performances, we invite senior members as leading roles. Sometimes, new members play leading roles in small performances such as charity performances and school performances.

TO05: We provide new members some opportunities to perform at schools, orphanages and nursing homes. During regular practice courses, everybody is assigned with two roles alternatively.

TO06: Not exactly. Our mode for small performances is that senior members lead junior members because playing is different from singing, which means if there is any unexpected situation happening, it is impossible for new members to make performances go on well. We usually have a rule that in small performances, an senior leading role is accompanied with another junior leading role. If there is a senior male leading role, there will be a junior female leading role arranged. Instead, a senior female leading role is accompanied with a junior male leading role. We suppose such a mode can make members develop quicker. Anyway, we do whatever we can to have new members advanced.

Investigator: Who is your youngest member?

TO05: She is a first grader at a junior high school.

TO06: 13 years old.

Investigator: Does she suffer no academic stress?

TO06: Yes, she does.

TO05: Because our training is only available on Wednesdays, she comes here for training after school. Her parents give her a ride here for training. Once training hours are ended, her parents come here to take her home. If her parents are unavailable, we take her to the metro station for going home. She asks for leaves when she makes preparations for school examinations.

TO06: We accept members at the girl's similar age have in our troupe because those junior members are children of our existing members and they get used to such training

environment from their childhood. There is a high school student in our troupe and she starts learning since aging 5.

TO06: However, based on our troupe rules, fixed members must be the age older than a first grader of junior high schools (aging more than 13). She starts learning from aging 5 and becomes a normal troupe member aging 13.

TO05: If she faced the critical year making preparations for school admission examinations, she took a yearlong leave.

TO06: However, in my memories, she didn't ask for any long period of leaves.

TO05: She also performed academically.

TO06: However, we also have a troupe member with mediocre academic achievements.

TO05: He is a third grader of a high school.

TO06: He showed his enthusiasm in Taiwanese Opera and joined us when we taught Taiwanese Opera in a student association. He has no excellent academic achievements, but he has decided to take entrance examinations for the department of Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: Do you mean his career has been decided?

TO06: Exactly! During his opera learning period, his career development has been decided. When a child does not perform well academically, we should allow him with strong confidence in other aspects.

TO05: Exactly! He is quite confident in the field of Taiwanese Opera.

TO06: We know much about the capabilities of every child. Based on academic achievements of that boy, he is never competent for an excellent university. Since he does not perform well academically, we raise that boy toward the aspect he is greatly interested.

Investigator: Can I have a question about what roles are most frequently played by your male members?

TO06: Male members usually play martial roles. Martial roles focus on martial fighting and young men are especially suitable for such roles.

TO05: Most of our members are females and there are only 3 males in our troupe.

TO06: Young men are good at actions and martial fighting. About females, senior members are more experienced in singing with better and more profoundly meaningful performances in singing, facial expression and postures.

Investigator: If there is anyone highly willing to join your troupe, how will your troupe head or teachers to evaluate new comers? Do you have any criteria?

TO05: We actually have no evaluation standards when our troupe was firstly established. We just advertised the messages of recruiting new student on newspapers or press conferences. There were about 20 new comers joining us. Then these members quitted due to giving birth, marriages, changing dwelling places away from Kaohsiung or



some other reasons. Anyway, the number of new members definitely decreases gradually. We used to open spring-term and autumn-term courses to recruit new students. We had no limitations for all students. Namely, whatever students professional or inexperienced and young or old were acceptable totally, as long as they are interested in Taiwanese Opera. After that, the three-month courses started from basic skills. The courses were meant to trigger students' interest but no stress found, students could learn Taiwanese Opera at their own paces. At that time, there used to be some professional students joining the courses. However, students with professional experience required more skills, but for inexperienced students, the courses seemed to be very difficult. Therefore, we taught students based on their past background. Then we had numerous senior members offering personal instruction. After 3 months, if their interest was triggered, they continued another 3-month-long course. As such, they took 6 months for learning. After 6 months, if they continued their learning courses for another period of 6 months long, during the 6-month period, aside from practices for basic skills, they also had to play a short plot. However, we never requested every student to play every role. It was available for students to learn singing and postures. About roles, students could choose whatever roles they liked to be. Resultantly, there were 5 students choosing to act as male leading roles and 6 students choosing to act as female leading role. Yet, no one chose to act as clowns. Therefore, teachers arranged opera courses particularly dedicated to male leading roles and female leading roles. Finally, students who act as both male and female leading roles co-played performances. Such a course taking 6 months long included a lesson of hair combing and make-up. However, when students started to conduct their performances of learning achievements, the performances were still to be done with our aids. After they completed their performances, they felt very glad to act as male and female leading roles. Someone even felt quite satisfied when they could wear opera costumes with beautiful make-up on performances and take some pictures taken. Students simply came here to make their own dreams come true and they never really devoted all themselves into Taiwanese Opera. However, there were still some exceptional students with all possible effort devoted to Taiwanese Opera. We also had kung fu courses available. Students unwilling to learn singing play could learn martial play like performing swords and spears. The courses for martial fighting started from walking around the stage simulating a long walk. Then students started to learn some fighting skills like playing blades, swords, butts and carpets. All students learning martial play were young people because elder people could not conduct rolling actions as young people did. The courses also took 6 months long. After courses were completed, there were also performances of learning achievements available. Most

students in the performances of learning achievements for martial fighting courses acted as generals. There were two rival generals fighting without clowns joining. Anyway, students could conduct the play elegantly. However, our troupe rules forbid to recruit students with professional opera experience because these students probably conduct their own performances clashing with ours.

Investigator: Oh!

TO05: Whenever both troupes need the said students, such a situation would bother we both.

TO06: Because students have the performance schedules of their own troupes, they cannot harmoniously coordinate with our trainings.

TO05: For example, whenever we are preparing for upcoming performances, perhaps students with professional experiences also have their own performances simultaneously.

TO06: It is quite inconvenient for troupe management. Therefore, we never recruit students with professional experience again.

TO05: It is quite troublesome, so that we welcome amateurs only now. If they are interested, they can join our troupe.

Investigator: Can they become a formal member?

TO05: Not yet. It depends on the learning attitude of students. To my mind, capabilities can be developed gradually. However, attitudes and teamwork spirit are critically important and harmonious interactions with other members are also highly emphasized. We don't like any student with unsociable and eccentric personalities.

TO06: Once students join us, they have to obey our troupe rules and start to attend courses with us.

TO05: When students join us, our troupe rules are clearly told. Our troupe rules are quite simple. Namely, never create small cliques and do attend courses punctually; be sure to ask for leaves in advance whenever unavailable for courses. If members attend or leave courses at will, it is quite difficult for the management of troupe disciplines. Furthermore, it is required for serious attitudes. New comers must follow the advices of senior artists. In addition, before learning courses are entirely completed, never join outdoor-stage performances of other troupes at will. When performance proficiency of students reaches a certain extent with the necessity to join outdoor-stage performances of other troupes, students must inform our troupe previously. If there is no performance for our troupe and members are invited for the performances of other troupes, we will probably permit them depending on actual situations. However, there is still a requirement that 30% of the remuneration for outside performances should be paid to our troupes as the feedback for troupe training efforts.

TO06: However, we are unwilling to receive their remuneration feedback, because they work hard for the performances invited by other troupes. Before they become main roles,

their performance renunciations are only NTD 500 to 1,000.

TO05: Most of them just play small roles.

TO06: Frankly speaking, we hope they don't go for outdoor-stage performances too often.

TO05: Forbidding our members to go for outdoor-stage performances is because we don't want them to become addicted to some bad habits such as smoking and gambling. It does not mean members of other troupe have bad habits. However, we have to avoid that.

TO06: Other troupes are highly willing to invite the students trained by our troupe because they are well-behaved and proficiently-skilled. However, an immature performer invited for outside performances, there is no large development space available and it will probably affect the job and the family of the invited student. Furthermore, it will probably affect life customs and make the invited student lost in surrounding environment. Anyway, we must take whatever bad situations into consideration because we conduct cultural transmission with good intention and we never try to spoil normal life customs of our members. Certainly, if members are mature and well-prepared for career development, there will be no problem. We sincerely hope before every troupe member completes learning, the decision for upcoming career development should be well made previously. We must retrain them more strictly.

TO05: Especially for younger members. I preferably intend to train them as a teacher with excellent independence and capabilities. Members always aspire for outdoor-stage performances and try to perform every day. Most outdoor-stage performances allow students learning opportunities only from practical performances. What students learn are not very authentic skills and knowledge. How can they transmit to the next generation? We train students with the mode of opera schools. After our students are well trained, they will be dispatched to schools required for teaching of basic skills. About plot arrangement, we have senior teachers to give aids by the side. If students focus on outdoor-stage performances, it is quite difficult to learn methods of basic skills. Students must be patient with drills of basic skills whenever they come to attention course. After students complete their training, at least, they should know the names of basic skills. They must ensure correct steps and postures. They must know the exact moving positions of shoulders, way how to draw sleeves and which points to eye at. They should have very clear ideas. If students work for other troupes, can they have such clear ideas from their teaching? It is exactly why teachers from other troupes cannot give concrete ideas to students. People can invite them for performances, but it seems they have no correctly basic skills available. They play the drama only consisting of speaking and singing yet without postures and martial actions.

TO05: They have no norms or standards because they learn Taiwanese Opera just the way they are. Therefore, how can they teach others well?

TO06: We firmly believe education is a long-range programme. We cannot treat students rashly. Even if elder artists in the past were not highly educated, they emphasised the training of basic skills. I suggest that people should follow such a doing. If so, it will be meaningful for transmission. For other operas, there seem to be some norms to a certain extent. However, I don't think there is a norm existing in Taiwanese Opera. We will continue our efforts toward this direction; otherwise, things will definitely go worse and worse. My teacher is Ms Chiung-Chi Liao having a very important status in Taiwanese Opera. My university teacher told me I should act better than Ms Chiung-Chi Liao. However, I never dare to think so because she is real master and how can I compare with her? However, my university teacher also indicated if I could not act better than Ms Chiung-Chi Liao, cultural transmissions would be weaker and weaker. How could Taiwanese Opera be passed on? Now, I assume that my university teacher is right. Although we do not experience so well as Ms Chiung-Chi Liao in Taiwanese Opera, yet we will use systematic ways to make our next generation better than us. This is our job. Therefore, our concepts are intended to raise a teacher more than a performer. If we would like to train performers of Taiwanese Opera, it just takes a period of 3 years and 6 months. Yet, through such a training, performers can play opera, but no one can ensure he or she is experienced enough to be an excellent teacher.

Investigator: Therefore, it exists in differences between teaching abilities and practical performances.

TO05: Exactly!

TO06: Yes! After a couple of years in teaching Taiwanese Opera, when I am in rehearsal with students, I always teach them terminologies of basic skills. For example, some actions are designated as 123 followed by other actions designated as 456 and what about the stage positions for actions designated 678. Therefore, opera teaching is quite a hard job and this is exactly the differences between our troupe and others. Actually, other troupes never have such a mode like ours. Therefore, there is no so-called "good" or "bad" on the judgment of people. Anyway, I do feel since I have engaged in this business, I should pursue and transmit my ideals.

TO05: In Northern Taiwan, there is a formal Taiwanese Opera school. In Southern Taiwan, we suppose our troupe functions like a small opera school.

TO06: Yes! Cultivating teachers is quite a critical job. Another critical job is to take deep roots in schools and we will teach Taiwanese Opera in student associations. Cultivating pupils' interests to Taiwanese Opera and triggering their lifelong devotion

to this field is quite hard. I have taught Taiwanese Opera for 10 years and there are only two students willing to engage in this field. However, I feel through my sincere teaching attitude, I can tell children learning Taiwanese Opera is a serious thing. If students can get through with it, students will be merited with higher EQ and stronger pressure resistance. Then students will be learnt to appreciate arts. If so, I think it is enough.

TO05: Our troupe can do such a thing because every member has their own jobs without worries behind. As such, we regard Taiwanese Opera as a recreation and we feedback society with our interests. Even if students feel very tired, they are still very delightful.

TO06: Intangible heritage would be considered as the transmission of cultures and arts. Actually, it is difficult to define how much devotion has been done. We just step forward our goals. However, during such a process, our troupe can find our own position. It means the long-term goal is meant to cultivate teachers, and the short-term goal is meant to take deep roots in schools without any transmission gaps left. Particularly, there are numerous children unable to speak Taiwanese, so that it is impossible for them to appreciate Taiwanese Opera. The situation is just like that I didn't like Beijing Opera when I was in the childhood because of Mandarin barriers.

Investigator: If there are subtitles available, and then?

TO06: Sure! I finally found Beijing Opera is quite beautiful as well as other operas. As we said, how can a child unavailable to speak Taiwanese try to love Taiwanese Opera? The answer is 'impossible'. We should teach and subtly influence the children positively. For the reason, we arranged some campus workshops for pupils. We also go for charity performances with our first goal to make new comers maturely developed. Our second goal is to make members feel their performances are invaluable. Any delightful performances are still required for the affirmation from others. Therefore, we let new comers go for charity performances in nursing homes and orphanages. They will feel their efforts are worthy. Meanwhile, they can devote to our society. Particularly for elder people, Taiwanese Opera probably used to be their pastimes when they were young. We offer our performances and help others. It is a sort of self-affirmation and I do think it is significant.

Investigator: What about the occasion for you to engage in Taiwanese Opera sphere? Were you affected by your parents or someone else?

TO05: Firstly, taking me for example. Because my teacher, Ms Chiung-Chi Liao, was invited by the South Foundation hosted by the family of the former Kaohsiung mayor, Mr Wang, this foundation formed a reading association for several dames of government officials. In addition, members of the reading association often invited celebrities to deliver lecturers.

TO06: At that time, the reading association was conducted on Wednesdays and members invited Ms Chiung-Chi Liao to deliver lectures. From the beginning of lectures, Ms Chiung-Chi Liao just sang one or two verses but no postures performed. Every member started to follow her singing. As a result, the South Foundation started to hold a workshop of Taiwanese Opera to recruit external members. Our troupe head saw this message and she joined the activity.

TO05: At that time, I was still a teacher at an elementary school. A parent of my students was a member of the reading association, and she led me to join the workshop.

TO06: At that time, Ms Chiung-Chi Liao just won the Culture Transmission Award.

TO05: From then on, I started my Taiwanese Opera learning.

Investigator: Which year?

TO06: 1990.

TO05: From the beginning, I started to learn singing and Ms Chiung-Chi Liao had no Taiwanese Opera troupe accompanied. She just played beats with her mouth and we learned opera singing verse by verse. Just after few runs of learning, I quitted my attendance. Ms Chiung-Chi Liao told staff to call me back. She recognised my vigorous voice and hoped me to continue learning Taiwanese Opera. Ms Chiung-Chi Liao sang songs of Taiwanese Opera with lyrics but no score available. Since I was grounding in Chinese music with a good sense, I started to write down scores. While Ms Chiung-Chi Liao sang, I wrote down scores. Actually, there was no one to applied scores to Taiwanese Opera training at that time, I think.

TO06: In the past, senior artists sang verse by verse, and students did likewise. Since then, Ms Chiung-Chi Liao has taught arias with numbered scores.

TO05: When Ms Chiung-Chi Liao was singing, we followed her verse by verse. If she did not sing again, we would forget how to sing. As such, I started to write scores and marked tempos. Then it was easier for everyone to learn to sing songs of Taiwanese Opera.

TO06: Actually, there was no the department of Taiwanese Opera in the Fu Hsing Dramatic Arts Academy when it was established.

Investigator: Had they ever borrowed your experienced performers to teach their students?

TO06: No! It was because it has its own department of Ethno Music.

TO05: They have numerous music teachers.

TO06: There was a teacher, Mr Yu, with research about Beijing Opera music. He also found there was no score applied to Taiwanese Opera teaching. Therefore, from then on, he started to help Ms Chiung-Chi Liao for score arrangement and compilations. The scores were published among opera schools. Since people could not get the points in learning Taiwanese Opera songs without scores in hand. Fortunately, Mr Yu was a formal graduate in music, and he really knew the scientific ways to make scores well

for opera instruction. At that time, it existed in differences between Southern and Northern. The score arrangement was done by the northern schools later. From the beginning, they just wanted to keep the things left by elder artists, but never intended to have scores published. However, due to requirements in northern opera schools, score arrangement was developed continuously. For past 20 years, records of opera lyrics and publication have been remarkably improved. For earlier periods, there was no such improvement and people just followed the instruction ways of Beijing Opera. When they started to establish the opera school, they also transferred teachers from the department of Beijing Opera. Some experienced administrative staff was transferred from the department of Beijing Opera to make preparations for establishing the department of Taiwanese Opera.

TO05: Actually, most performers do not write down scores and they just sing in performances accompanied by musicians.

TO06: Ms Chiung-Chi Liao also taught us with scripts and such scripts came from her memories in her young ages. In fact, she was illiterate, she memorised lyrics in mind and wrote these memories down. She learned to write numerous vocabularies for opera instructions. However, there are still numerous vocabularies she could not recognise.

TO05: If she was unable to recognise whatever vocabularies, she would mark those with circles.

Investigator: Sometimes, we speak Taiwanese for communication. If we require for textual records, are Chinese characters used for transliteration or free translation of original meanings?

TO05: It is quite a difficult job. It depends on what ethnic groups the audience belongs to. If they are in Hoklo group, they would write characters according to the pronunciation of Taiwanese. However, some people can hardly understand the meanings of Chinese characters designated with the same pronunciation words if they are unable to recognise Taiwanese dialect.

TO06: In addition, when we are teaching pupils, we firstly explain meanings in Mandarin and then the verses are read in Taiwanese dialect.

TO05: If subtitles are provided, principally, what you sing should be clearly understood by the audience. We often use Mandarin for subtitles.

TO06: The audience needs subtitles because they cannot recognise Taiwanese. Therefore, subtitles in Mandarin are necessary. If subtitles of Taiwanese are translated with the same pronunciation of Chinese characters, subtitles cannot be clearly understood.

TO05: For example, whenever we go on performances for overseas Chinese people in Japan, subtitles should be clearly understood by them.

- TO06: It is just like learning foreign languages. If there was too much unknown, learning interests would be decreased. At that time, the tunes sung by Ms Chiung-Chi Liao were fixed, there were numerous elder artists might not sing with fixed tunes. Sometimes they might sing with different tempos.
- TO05: However, Ms Chiung-Chi Liao always sang opera songs with the same tunes and beats no matter recently or 10 years ago.
- TO06: There are probably some people doubting senior artists sing opera songs with rigidly fixed tunes. However, in view of cultural transmission, the standardisation is vitally important. For any new learners, the teaching methods of Ms Chiung-Chi Liao are very superb.
- TO05: It is just like arias of Beijing Opera never changing and always keeping the same in short tones and long tones.
- TO06: All arias are always the same, whenever artists develop their skills to a certain extent; they probably sing arias with their unique style. Therefore, students should learn to sing standard versions in the start. After singing skills are mature, it is just available for further variations in singing. I reckon why Ms Chiung-Chi Liao is so competent for the teaching job of Taiwanese Opera due to her standardisation of arias.
- Investigator: Then stepping into different phases, can students focus on the learning in patterns further?
- TO06: Yes! Robust foundations of basic skills are quite important.
- Investigator: Singing play is comparatively less limited by ages. However, if elder students try to learn martial play, will they be more limited?
- TO06: We still accept their entries, but they probably quit by themselves. For example, when they meet bottlenecks or poor energy conditions, they feel like giving up. I could turn 2 or 3 somersaults, but now, I can turn one somersault only.
- Investigator: What is your career age in Taiwanese Opera?
- TO05: Both of us about have the career ages of 20 years in Taiwanese Opera.
- TO06: Our troupe head joined us later than me by half a year.
- TO05: When we joined this troupe, I played the male leading role and Ms Tseng played the female leading role.
- TO06: Our troupe head was very beautiful 20 more years ago.
- TO05: She was 40 more years old at that time, right?
- TO06: Ha! Exactly! She is not bad in playing the male leading role. However, it is not suitable for elder members to play female leading roles. Members aging 40 are suitable to play male leading role. At that time, she was not so fat.
- TO06: Taiwanese Opera is so wonderful and makes us both with a wide age gap become good friends.



TO05: Now, we are collaborating for our own troupe.

Investigator: Troupe head. May I have your age?

TO05: I was born in 1951 and my age is 60 now.

Investigator: It seems performers playing male leading role always have highly healthy skin, right?

TO06: It is nothing concerned with that. I am just naturally born with very healthy skin.

Investigator: Is it because of thick make-up?

TO05: Yes! Otherwise, you can take good care of your skin.

TO06: Sure! It mainly depends on good care.

TO05: Performers in the past always use make-up with inferior quality.

TO06: That's right.

Investigator: In view of your practical experience in opera make-up, is there any change happening?

TO06: Yes! We used baby powder before. From the beginning, we were so innocent in choosing make-up and we just followed the examples of Ms Chiung-Chi Liao. Ms Chiung-Chi Liao started her opera career from the period of indoor-stage opera. Therefore, she insisted on using tri-colour make-up dedicated to indoor-stage performances. Tri-colour make-up is exactly the make-up applied to Beijing Opera. However, in view of the applications to Taiwanese Opera, the make-up is more charming. Make-up of Taiwanese Opera is often added with some variations. For example, the tri-colour make-up in Beijing Opera includes 3 colours, black, white and red only. However, our teachers add blue eye-shadow. To my knowledge, the foundation is personally mixed by Ms Chiung-Chi Liao. She also uses rouges to mix with baby powder.

Investigator: Is what you say the 'powder' meaning the foundation?

TO06: Yes, it is. The powder brushes we used before were very large. We often use large powder brushes to daub our faces and then the surplus powder was wiped away. Yet, powder brushes are much smaller now. At that time, I used to ask Ms Chiung-Chi Liao why mixing make-up powder by herself? She told me light colour make-up could make skin look softly pink. However, make-up with darker colours make skin darkened yellowish. The skins of both old male and female leading roles are darkened. The skin of both young male and female leading roles is reddish. Therefore, based on different roles, there are different colours of skin painted and adjusted. The ground colours are black, red and white. After eye-shadow is painted, eyelashes are worn.

Investigator: Had you started to use eyelashes since then on?

TO06: Yes! We did wear eyelashes on outdoor-stage performances aside from indoor-stage performances. Ms Chiung-Chi Liao supposed she stemmed from indoor-stage opera

and the make-up for indoor-stage opera derived from the costumes of Beijing Opera. Therefore, she hoped we could use the same costumes as usual. At that time, she invited teachers of Beijing Opera to prepare for make-up. Among others, there was a top visagiste, Ms Wang. When the make-up of Taiwanese Opera started to change, it gradually became to be either TV Taiwanese Opera style or fashion style. When I was young, I felt the make-up of Beijing Opera not looking charming. However, after a few years of opera teaching experience, I found I was lucky to experience the tri-colour make-up. Applying the tri-colour make-up requires high technical skills.

Investigator: Current performers of Taiwanese Opera do not know the applications of tri-colour make-up even if they want to make some application for themselves.

TO06: Although I used to learn tri-colour make-up, it is a difficult skill and it seems to be faded away gradually. By using tri-colour make-up, a girl with mediocre appearance can look a beautiful angel. The tri-colour make-up is functioned with such a charming power. However, colour make-up can also beautify appearance, but the aging signs can be read behind the make-up. Instead, performers with tri-colour make-up never reveal their old ages due to the effect of eyebrow lifting.

Investigator: Can an elder woman disguise a female leading role even if she ages 50 more?

TO06: Yes! I used to teach my first students how to apply the tri-colour make-up. However, there were no more tri-colour make-up courses for students because the cost to invite a professional make-up teacher was about more than NTD 10,000. As we know, to run a troupe is difficult economically. In order to save expenditures, we invite a colour make-up teacher from TV stations. The teacher specialises in the make-up for TV prime-time programs, public performances and refined performances. Therefore, we invite her to teach students make-up. Once students learn to paint make-up, they can do it themselves.

Investigator: What the differences of colour make-up applied to refined performances, public performances and outdoor-stage performances?

TO06: The differences mainly exist in colours. Like outdoor-stage performances, they prefer a certain colour. I used to be a trainee in a troupe. I found most members liked using a blue colour and another troupe liked using a purple colour yet. When I was trainee in Yilang, there was a troupe preferring thick and large eye make-up. For outdoor-stage performances, the appearance is beautiful in a distance, but when people got closer to take a look, the make-up effect was very terrible. However, TV make-up is different and the make-up is beautiful for both close and distant looking.

Investigator: Do you mean the tri-colour make-up has been faded away nearly?

TO05: However, Beijing Opera still use tri-colour make-up.

TO06: So does Kunqu Opera.

TO05: Beijing Opera, Kunqu Opera, and Yu Opera use tri-colour make-up and this skill would not be faded away.

Investigator: Therefore, the make-up skill is rarely seen in Taiwanese Opera.

TO05: It is disappeared. Actually, the most traditional Taiwanese Opera come from Yilang, and they used make-up skills stem from Beijing Opera. During the period of indoor-stage Taiwanese Opera, all performers were applied with the tri-colour make-up.

TO06: Various roles have different make-up colours. We always prepare make-ups followed by rehearsals and then corrections in order to present performances with the styles different from outdoor-stage troupes.

TO05: Our troupe used to hold an activity titled 'One Day Trip for the Ecology of Taiwanese Opera' and it means an activity for participants to understand Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: Are such activities still available in upcoming few months?

TO06: No more available.

TO05: Such activities should be held on Saturdays or Sundays when we are free. However, pupils always spend their holidays at home unless schools arrange outdoor education activities for them.

Investigator: After your troupe goes for performances, a part of incomes will be allocated to train teachers. Can you break even?

TO06: If members are not paid, it is possible to break even. If not, it will be quite difficult. Our members used to be paid before, but now they are not paid because our funding is deficient.

Investigator: What about your performance pay for every troupe member?

TO06: The pay is quite meagre. If there is any large performance, everyone can be paid more than NTD 1,000.

TO05: It depends on performance remuneration from our clients. Except basic expenditures of our troupe, there are also some other cost like lighting, audio and scenery. Actually, there is not much left. If there is a surplus available, travelling expense of about NTD 1,000 will be paid to every troupe member. However, NTD 300 must be deduced from this amount because of 30% feedback fee for our troupe.

Investigator: Do you apply for any official subsidies?

TO06: We rarely apply for official subsidies because there are too many requests from official authorities, but the subsidy is quite a small amount. For example, they usually offer a certain amount but request the troupe to conduct performances to a regulated number per year. However, our troupe cannot be always available like those professional troupes. Every troupe member has his or her own job. They also have family living to take care and cannot ask for leaves from jobs often.

TO05: If we are really qualified for official subsidies, it will be a headache problem. We must go to Taipei, Tainan, Kaohsiung or somewhere else for public performances. Every troupe member must go crazy for tight timetables.

TO06: Actually, we did submit the application proposal before. Whenever the proposal was submitted, we would notify members. Once the proposal was accepted, members would ask for leaves in advance from their own jobs.

TO05: However, if our troupe is scheduled to go for foreign performances, to ask for leaves lasting 2 weeks is actually almost impossible.

Investigator: Did you have foreign performances before?

TO06: Yes! We did. Yet, it required only 8 members to join the performances.

TO05: If we are performing a part of the entire plot, the cast is about 5 or 6 members asking for leaves from jobs. If there are large performances to be prepared, it is not really easy for 20 or 30 members to do that. We are not a professional troupe available for performances at all times.

TO06: I stem from a more formal troupe. I also had to deal with some administrative affairs before. Therefore, I have clear ideas of the operating a troupe. We must take all possible considerations of meals, boarding and safety, together with group insurances for our members.

Investigator: As you said, you used to conduct a performance in Japan. Was it a small performance?

TO06: The activity was hosted by the Buddha's Light International Association, and we taught students how to act Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: Did you lead your own members or students from schools?

TO06: Let me think about that.

TO05: The hosting unit is a Buddha's temple subordinated to the Fo Guang Shan Monastery. This year, they held a summer camp of Taiwanese Opera for children. They arranged school students to conduct Taiwanese Opera performances in Japan for culture cross. Therefore, we had to hurry up our training for children. After training, the troupe with 20 children was sent to Japan for performances.

TO06: The Fo Guang Shan Monastery used to hold two rounds of workshops of Taiwanese Opera, separately a summer camp and a winter camp. Then there was an advanced workshop held with enthusiastic feedback and affirmation from parents. Since the Fo Guang Shan Monastery is an international organisation, this organisation brings local cultures in Taiwan to Japan for sharing. There used to some other activities for culture cross before. However, it was the first time of culture cross with Taiwanese Opera. At that time, Japan shared the 'Tea ceremony' with us.

Investigator: Are those performances translated with subtitles on the lateral side or top side of

screen?

TO06: Oh! We did not take any responsibility of translation. We just gave the syllabus to the host and then there would be professional translation available.

Investigator: When you were on performances, were there any translated subtitles available?

TO06: We used to conduct performances in front of AIT (American Institute in Taiwan) and Japanese officers. We usually would inform them of translated plot summaries prior to our performances. Before performances are conducted, interpreters would explain performance sequences and contents previously. As a result, they have known much about the contents easily.

Investigator: Is there any differences existing in performances or culture unavailable for them to understand?

TO06: Actually, Japanese are quite different from Americans. Americans are in a Western way and Japanese have an Asian style. According to my past experience, they did understand what we performed. They are the highbrow audience in overall. However, western people might feel weird about the playing of our cross-casting roles. Namely, a female performer plays the male leading role to fall in love with the female leading role. Regarding Japanese, they feel it is quite natural because they also have a cross-casting role in one of their dramas - 'M. Butterfly'. American viewers are curious about our costumes and make-ups of Taiwanese Opera. They often asked how long applying make-ups took. Yet, there are Noh opera and Geishas in Japan, and it takes longer time to make up. Therefore, they got used to such long-time processes.

Investigator: Recently, we have always talked about cultural creative industries and intangible heritage. What are your opinions?

TO06: Oh! It is quite a difficult to answer such a question. I found young people show their creativities unlimitedly. However, I was wondering what real cultures do they really own for themselves because I found considerable foreign cultures remaining in the young generation. Instead, young people inherited less authentic cultures. Most of them don't know how much cultural heritage left for their own nations. Therefore, I deeply sense we should make our next generation thoroughly know what we really have and what we can do further. Certainly, their positions are different from ours. Since I started from our tradition and that will make me discover what I really have and what I should do to make things better. For example, I used to the training of Eastern performing arts, but now I start to touch Western forms of arts, and I do feel some of their cultures are fantastic, which can be applied to Taiwanese Opera. This cultural fusion can bring about some products with cultural creativities. However, for my part, I have received training under traditional norms for years. Therefore, my thoughts are not as flexible as young people. Nowadays, young people try to break

tradition. Yet, what they have are external cultures, and they don't even know what tradition is. How can they intend to break tradition? I do feel it is quite a weird logic. The notion I mentioned is required to have clear ideas of tradition and take deep roots in Taiwanese cultures. Then it is just available to create our own unique styles. However, what a shame is that our children are scanty in this aspect.

Investigator: If you want to continue traditional performing arts, are you planning to cater to the preferences of young people when you try to attract them?

TO05: I reckon that it depends on preferences of the audience. For example, some people like watching the performances conducted by the Ming Hua Yuan Troupe, but I don't. Yet, I like watching performances conducted by the Holo Opera Troupe; instead, some others don't. I doesn't mean whatever I prefer is the best.

TO06: When I was young, I liked watching whatever styles of Taiwanese Opera.

TO05: At that time, I had no obvious inclination in taste, but just watched Taiwanese Opera whenever available.

TO06: I do regard such a development as a process. We cannot just keep unchanged for good. Therefore, we are trying to make our dances more ample. Although our actions and postures are affected by Beijing Opera, yet Taiwanese Opera still have their own forms of performing. We learnt something about modern dances which postures are not like Beijing Opera or traditional Taiwanese Opera. Accordingly, I do hope I can absorb advantages more from t modern dances or something else to keep on improvement always. We should find the direction dedicated to Taiwanese Opera. However, the direction of Taiwanese Opera is never just focusing on traditional performances merely. It is not a simple linkage to his mother, Beijing Opera, either. We aim to always keep on generation-to-generation transmission of Taiwanese Opera. Whether students accept it or not depends on upcoming efforts. We hope to infuse them with our concepts from various aspects. However, our arias still follow tradition. In addition, modern music is applied and the basic skills of Beijing Opera are also added into Taiwanese Opera. Furthermore, with the music training from western dances, we can create something for our own and I do feel such a creation is more delicate.

Investigator: Could you please talk about intangible heritage?

TO05: It is people. People are a part of intangible heritage. For example, now we have a 10-year-old troupe. However, after 50 years, if this troupe still exists and it will be precious. Therefore, we suggest governments should keep good records of currently existing troupes. If not, nothing can be found 50 years later. We also request governments to urge all troupes should numerate their yearly performance events with textual descriptions. I am compiling the records of our own troupe to act as our 'family tree'.

TO06: When our troupe head engages in the cultural transmission of Taiwanese Opera, there is no worry accompanied because she has a decent job. If not, our troupe can never make decent living available.

TO05: It needs money to manage a troupe. I am retired and have my pension devoted to this troupe for everybody to learn Taiwanese Opera. All my efforts are concentrated on this troupe. Official authorities don't know I am doing a great thing - the cultural transmission for Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: When did you retire?

TO05: I have retired for 10 years. I retired in 2001.

Investigator: Did have your troupe performance pictured digitalised?

TO05: It is a part of my current jobs. As I said, I hope to complete the compilations for the family tree of our own troupe with my lifelong time. It is a very hard job.

TO05: We are the first Taiwanese Opera troupe to play Buddhist stories!

Investigator: Which one do you play?

TO05: 'The wish of a dutiful son'. From then on, the Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe started to play 'Repentance of the Emperor Liang' and the Shiu-Kim Taiwanese Opera Troupe played 'King Ashoka', a Buddhist story. I used to sign up Taiwanese Opera lessons before. However, I stopped my lessons after attending the class once because I felt it wasted time. Although the teacher did not know me, yet she still requested the class chief to call me back and said my voice was quite suitable for young male leading roles.

Investigator: Is your voice deeper?

TO05: Yes! My teacher requested the class chief to call me back. I said I was not available, but later on, I still backed again! At that time, my teacher had started to arrange roles. Her main teaching way was learning from practical opera performances. She did not teach basic skills, but teach us gestures for every singing verse. We started singing lessons directly followed by gestures. Although it was a simple learning way, we were educated so much. I had learned for totally 5 years, including 4 major tunes of traditional performances such as 'Chen San and Wu Niang', 'Shan-Bo and Ying-Tai', 'Lu Meng-Zheng', and 'Shi Xi Ji'. However, I had no chance to learn 'Lu Meng-Zheng'.

Investigator: Since my childhood, I started following my aunts to watch Taiwanese Opera including outdoor-stage performances.

TO05: Whenever there was any temple festivals available, Taiwanese Opera troupes were invited for performance. At that time, it was quite happy to watch outdoor-stage performances! I would spend half a day to watch performances and also liked to see performers doing make-up and dressing at the backstage. But now, whenever I see any

outdoor-stage performances, I just feel nothing special after 5 minutes of watching!

TO06: It is quite a magic change. When I was a child, I liked troupes and viewed opera performances very much. But now, I do not like watching opera performances quite much.

Investigator: Why? Is it just because outdoor-stage performances are performed by playing tapes only?

TO05: Yes! They are typically tape-playing troupes.

TO06: I used to play some tape-playing performances, but I just feel it is qualified for the performance of fine art. The time when I played tape-playing performances was 10 more years ago. At that time, I was not competent for a major role and I played tape-playing performances. It means I played performances when I was just nothing in opera performance. How could such a performance be of high quality? Additionally, I was not the worst one when I accompanied with my opera partners for performances. At that time, we had good old days and every run of performance was paid with NTD 1,500. Whoever could do opera make-up was competent for such performances! How could such performances bring with progress?

Investigator: Yes!

TO06: Of course! If you find my performance delicacy just the same as 10 more years ago, you, as a viewer, will feel less interested in my performance.

TO05: I believe playing Taiwanese Opera is required for further progress at all times! However, like the performers of outdoor-stage opera troupes, it is always late for a day whenever they finish performances. All of them live a night life and they go to bed late at midnight 1 or 2 o'clock. Till noon time of the next day, they get up for eating lunch. After eating lunch, they prepare for opera make-up and start the performance of another day. If they are planning to go somewhere far away for performances, they naturally have no time for practicing or advancing. For example, if we both could not pair performances well before, we have a pairing plot on stages directly. Do you feel you can deliver performances with excellent quality? Therefore, it is quite difficult to find any highly delicate postures and stage design on outdoor-stages performances.

TO06: To my knowledge, old artists in the past were vested with postures and plot arrangement. There were some old artists used to play Fuzhou Operas or Chinese Operas. They were all well-trained with excellent basic skills from their original troupes. When they taught you how to play performances, they would teach Chi-Ba and the performance progress meant the basic threads like cloud hands, kite stand-up and walking around the stage, etc. In earlier indoor-stage period, there were still some basic skills taught orally and personally. But now, there is no more training like this because current performers can be educated availably when they are new to basic



skills.

TO05: It is impossible to find any Chi-Ba practice from outdoor-stages performances.

TO06: In the past when I started to learn performances, I had to a trainee in troupes. When performances were conducted, there were some signs required. For example, if I would pair a love plot with you today, you would secretly give me a sign to conduct Ru-Shui. Ru-Shui means a kind of postures taking a round toward stage interior and then showing up at stages. At that time, we had no rehearsal. Any performances at stages without rehearsals previously should leave much for further improvement. Our current ideas always suppose it is basically required for continuous training even if the performance has been well directed and designed previously. Anything wrong in rehearsals will be kept in mind with perfect performances conducted at stages. This is exactly what we call performances. Actually, outdoor-stage performances have no requirement as aforesaid.

Investigator: Probably, they are trained in such a way. Therefore, they never feel anything strange.

TO06: Yes! They never feel so. This is the difference found by me later. I also feel quite amazed!

TO05: They receive no basic training without well-prepared performances available. They just conduct performances casually.

TO06: I do not know what exactly happens because they just learn something with eyes observing merely. However, senior artists never tell them every role does not always have the same postures. Therefore, they never know some norms for roles. For example, the actions of old major leading roles should conduct smaller but for martial roles, actions should be larger. Therefore, different roles show different things. For example, when we walk around the stage and such an action is just like walking at stages! Any short performance moment always takes a long time for practice! However, when the basic skill of walking around the stage is conducted, I will tell them how to walk and how to keep walking pace when you are playing whatever roles like Tsing-Yi, Hua-Dang or Lao-Seng. Although they are actions of walking around the stage, different roles with different walking ways in performances naturally express different aesthetic feeling. Although basic skills are identical, yet the ways of acting are quite different. We cannot take these as the same thing simply. However, outdoor-stage troupes never teach anything as aforesaid. Why? It is because they even know nothing about this!

Investigator: You just said after you were taught by Ms Chiung-Chi Liao, you started to learn opera singing with numbered scores. Everyone follows and learns opera singing. Is it a pioneering way to learn opera singing? As you say, there is an opera school in the

northern Taiwan. Is this opera school also using the numbered scores to learn opera singing?

TO05: I don't know well about that. It depends on who will teach opera singing. If opera singing was taught by Ms Chiung-Chi Liao, she taught opera singing verse by verse because she knows nothing about numbered scores, while opera singing was taught by Mr Chiu, a modern musician, certainly used numbered scores as teaching aids. For example, I used to join their summer camps and it is open for external adults to learn Taiwanese Opera. However, Mr Tu and his teaching assistants in the Fu-Hsing Opera School don't use numbered scores either, because we can sing and there is no need for numbered scores. If there is an opera song never heard before, it is naturally required for opera singing by using the numbered scores. If there is a well-known opera song, after just telling everyone correct pronunciation, whenever Nanhu music is played, everyone can sing the opera song. Most students can sing some well-known opera tunes. If the opera song is newly arranged, then it is unavailable to sing. For newly arranged songs, students should be taught by teachers. There are numerous teaching ways available. I use numbered scores to teach opera songs, but there are still some other students unavailable to read numbered scores. Therefore, it is useless to use numbered scores. Anyway, I will teach students singing verse by verse. For anyone can read numbered scores, it is quite convenient to learn new opera songs. Alternatively, for new songs never heard before, numbered scores will of great help for learning. However, for those who know nothing about numbered scores, it is useless! He still requests students to sing verse by verse. After two or three runs of singing, students can learn to sing with the additional aids of recording.

TO06: Exactly! Even if there are some ones knowing nothing about numbered scores, they can learn to sing with audio recordings.

Investigator: There are some ones naturally vested with very inferior pitch sense. How about their singing for upcoming performances?

TO05: Whenever role selection is conducted, if the scripts are authored by others, I will do my best to remove his singing verses replaced with rap-like lines. For example, in some scripts written by myself, the role should be dedicated to the one with very inferior pitch sense and there are only rap-like lines available for him.

TO06: Being teachers, we know quite well about students' singing talents at the first sight.

Investigator: You mean a singing talent can be clearly recognized immediately at the first sight, right?

TO06: Even if anyone has inferior talents, can you make the student well-trained?

TO05: We can about know what roles will be suitable for the student. The singing lines dedicated to students with inferior singing talents will be lessened at all possibilities.

However, some students can be well-trained available. Actually, there is no need to waste time training students with very inferior pitch sense. Some ones have very deep voice and high tones are never suitable. However, situations are changed now because Nanhu keys can be changed at any time. It is alright if no off-key occasion happens.

TO06: More than half of past teachers taught opera singing by previously reviewing talents. If students can sing, the song will be sung by teachers verse by verse. Under such a situation, students' singing talent can be judged immediately because current education is more scientific. Vocal training is more scientific and it can be improved by using machines. However, it does not mean everyone can be well improved. Aids are only available for any educable talent.

TO05: There used to be a professional actress joining our summer and autumn classes. She is a daughter-in-law of a troupe boss. Whenever she sang, we never found a stable key. I set some time away to train her singing but all effort was in vain. She still backed to her own troupe and played male leading roles. I used to spare my time watching her performances and her performances were terribly awful. What a terrible experience! Singers never knew the pain suffered by listeners.

Investigator: Ha! As we can see you both enjoy intimate partnership. If based on the master-apprentice system, the beating and scolding of masters could be always accepted. For current students, how can students accept your education, if masters teach in harsh manners?

TO05: They can accept such harsh manners!

TO06: They also understand we never blame students at will.

TO05: We never mean to hurt students but scold them in a humorous way! We never beat students.

TO06: Sometime, we are very ferocious, but we never mean to hurt their self-dignity. Students are often frustrated when their learning paces of basic skills falling behind.

Investigator: They often feel frustrated whenever they request themselves.

TO05: Therefore, whenever any new team mate joins, we will make robust psychological construction for them. Students can never perform as well as experienced troupe mates. Experienced troupe mates have been well trained for a few years. New comers just join troupes and it is natural there are numerous things unknown. However, after a period of training, new comers will be well-trained finally.

Investigator: For anyone with ordinary talents, how long will it take to make him become a mature performer under such a systematic education?

TO05: A mature performer? It depends on personal situations.

TO06: A mature performer? We have a mature performer who has been trained for 10 years.

TO05: It is because we are not professionally trained as day-n-night effort made by the

Fu-Hsing Opera School. We attend classes once a week with numerous kinds of learning contexts included.

TO06: To become a mature performer, it takes 6 or 7 years. It is impossible to take a period of 3 and half a year with maturely performers available.

TO05: It is because the period of 3 and half a year is arranged for practice all day long.

Investigator: The training starts from every morning.

TO06: However, like the performers trained by the Fu-Xing Opera School, some are still immature even after 10 years of training. What the most important is keeping close touch with others in troupes with fruitful training achievement reachable. Otherwise, the period of 3 and half a year is still too hurried for learning. Actually, students of the first generation educated by the Fu-Xing Opera School are still immature because it still takes a long time to develop and finish the education system. Actually, transmission is such a case. For a few years, there are only 3 mature performers from 50, 60 or 100 students and such an achievement is mediocre.

TO05: If old artists fade away in future, then who will fill up the vacancies? In the business of Taiwanese Opera, there are numerous ones quitting in midway and it is also a gap. Taiwanese Opera on TV are different from outdoor-stage opera schools performances. Taiwanese Opera on TV makes the audience just appreciate their faces and all NG actions can be repeated. There is naturally no harsh requirement to postures. There is no requirement to a posture passing a threshold just opening doors as normal life. TV opera performers can sing opera songs. Even if there are some students unable to sign opera songs, some replacements can found for opera singing. Additionally, TV opera performers don't have to learn horse-riding postures with sticks. Such basis skills like horse-riding postures take a long time to practice.

TO06: However, Taiwanese Opera on TV are still vested with their functions.

Investigator: What about their functions to your mind?

TO06: I feel Taiwanese Opera on TV are vested with some important functions. Like Ms Li-Hua Yang, they make music more abundant because the performance is only available on screen but no other think else, right? If so, what is the most important thing of Taiwanese Opera on TV? Just faces and singing only! The singing is also available for replacements. However, it is impossible to sing crying tunes or 7-word tunes always. Therefore, music should be more abundant.

TO05: There are numerous tunes newly arranged during the era of Ms Li-Hua Yang.

TO06: Our accompanying music playing is also learned from Taiwanese Opera on TV. Therefore, they are still vested with their own functions. Because performances are performed on TV, oral texts cannot be vulgar; the texts are more abundant and elegant with higher conservation in aesthetics. In outdoor-stage performances, there are some

old artists speaking vulgar lines because of their daily life languages.

Investigator: However, can the audience follow the humour when more vulgar contents are spoken?

TO06: Exactly! However, it is impossible for TV opera performances. Therefore, the performances should be regulated through playwrights. Therefore, Taiwanese Opera on TV are also vested with educable functions. Taking me for example, I engage in Taiwanese Opera is because the opera lines and performances are abundant and beautiful. At that time, I liked Ye Qing very much. Saving the discussion on her postures, we find her texts are very beautiful. I just started to know there is playwright named Di San doing a perfect job in screenplays.

TO05: The scripts for Taiwanese Opera on TV are vested with very high literary value. They are fantastic and brilliant. Like the opera - Chen San and Wu Niang played by Ms Ching Yeh, no one finds the delicate slangs written for opera lines. At that time, the opera songs did not win any awards and I did feel the opera was certainly competent for any award.

TO06: Not exactly! However, some other performances also perform excellently.

TO05: If people try to find the most classic lines in Taiwanese Opera, I personally feel the opera - Chen San and Wu Niang are competent for the best one. Oh! It is really a culture inheritance of Taiwanese Opera.

TO06: Therefore, if we change a perspective, the context of Taiwanese Opera is not only limited to playwrights. There are something else like music, postures and art.

TO05: It includes the Taiwanese lines in performances as I say above. His Taiwanese is vested with plentiful harmoniously elegant rhymes. I say he is national treasure. I also support if I can do something as excellent as he does, I will be another national treasure. In Taiwanese lines arranged for the opera, there are numerous slangs rarely heard now. In the time of my grandmother and my grand grandmother, the slangs were frequently heard. But now, few are heard. There are very authentic Taiwanese in the opera called Chen San and Wu Niang. At the first hearing moment, I start to figure out the meaning and find it's never heard for a long time. However, young men cannot understand Taiwanese lines and they have to read subtitles written in Chinese traditional music. However, Taiwanese Opera performers speak very authentic lines in Taiwanese. Such contents can be circulated for a long time with much left for learning. At that time, I watched TV and imaged the Taiwanese lines never heard for a long time. I just could not write the lines in Chinese. The opera is really brilliant. However, if you do not watch the subtitles in the opera called Chen San and Wu Niang, you will never know what performers are talking about! They are really interesting with very authentic rhymes.

Investigator: I remembered I always watched the Taiwanese Opera played by Ye Qing punctually. How can I have no such an impression?

TO06: Is the opera a work of her later period?

Investigator: Oh!

TO06: It was a climax time for fairy plays and there were also some romantic plays available.

The opera called Chen San and Wu Niang was an excellent work among historical plays. However, it was the later period for Taiwanese Opera and Taiwanese Opera just started its decline initially.

TO05: Chen San and Wu Niang is a well-known story and I do appreciate its very authentic Taiwanese lines. If there is any classic Taiwanese Opera to be selected, this is exactly the one.

**Participant: TO07**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Teacher**

**Time: 20.00-21.20, 1<sup>st</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Residence of participant**

TO07: Opera-learning Children probably get up early at 4 or 5 o'clock and then serve teachers with breakfast and toilet errands well ready. They start to practice opera singing and posing in the morning. Anyway, the practice will be continued for a while. Till the time when it is about 9 or 10 o'clock, they cook lunch and eat lunch around 11 o'clock. After lunch, they make preparations for afternoon lessons again. The opera troupe goes on it performances in this theatre. When the shows are going, opera-learning children give whatever aids they can. Sometimes, they may play a small role and this is exactly their opera internship activity to fulfil any small role vacancies on shows. Their opera perform their shows from day to night. This is exactly what their daily life is and they roam everywhere spending one month here and another month there. They spend all the year round in such a roaming life pattern.

Investigator: So, if compared with opera apprentice schooling and training, what about current situations of opera learning environment?

TO07: Currently, there is a national opera institute - the Taiwan College of Performing Art. It is a formal traditional transmission of opera locally. The most successful artist is a teacher named Ms Chiung-Chi Liao. She has numerous students.

Investigator: There is a student, Ms Liang, a college graduate majoring in foreign literature. Compared with others, she is more enthusiastic to teach new comers. The others are leading a roaming life with their opera troupe only.

Investigator: Oh! What a well-educated opera performer.

TO07: Yes!

Investigator: Yes!

TO07: Yes! If you have some questions, they are senior troupe members very unwilling to teach you with regular class schedule?

Investigator: Yes! It means apprentices have to practice on their own. Any questions happening will be referred to their masters or elder troupe members for better understanding.

TO07: It seems they do not arrange some singing or posing lessons especially for you. You just learn something randomly. Being contract-bound students, it is quite often if any questions arisen, you will naturally face indifferent response from senior troupe members.

Investigator: Well!

TO07: It makes them act like slaves.

Investigator: Well! There seemed to be numerous contract-bound students apprentices in the past, right?

TO07: Yes! There used to some contract-bound apprentices as you say said. However, they learn opera when troupes were performing. If there was no performance available, there is no need to teach apprentices anything.

Investigator: There used to be some apprentices living in troupes. Did they have pocket money?

TO07: Yes! There was pocket money arranged by troupes and such a situation was due to daily show opportunity available. They could lead a life with regular performances available. But for now, show opportunities are available for weekly performances, 10, 8, 5 or even 3 or 2 days of performances merely. Actually, they never spare special time to instruct students.

Investigator: If a person planning to stay long in an opera troupe, is it required taking living problems into consideration?

TO07: Well! There have been numerous transmissions in Taiwanese Opera and the transmissions are just like the doing of my mother.

Investigator: Excuse me! May I have your mother's name?

TO07: My mother is Ms Chen.

Investigator: Where is she living now?

TO07: She is living in Pingtung now.

Investigator: Pingtung?

TO07: Yes! Pingtung.

Investigator: So, she is living in southern Taiwan now.

TO07: Yes! She used to be a troupe member of the Ming Hua Yuan. Even if she does not stay there, whenever required, many opera troupes come to invite her for delicate performances. It is because she is well-cultured with strong enthusiasm to instruct others. Yes! The Ming Hua Yuan is further subdivided into 9 smaller troupes.

Investigator: Right!

TO07: Some troupe members always remember her good old days delightfully.

Investigator: If so, what about the way your mother teaching others? Is it an old-fashioned teaching way or something quite at will?

TO07: If there is any obedient student performing badly, she will teach something more. However, she will stop her enthusiastic teaching to impatient students and some students maybe become angry. My mother pays close attention to interpersonal relationship.



Investigator: Well!

TO07: Anyway, most students are proactive. Actually, she is very busy in answering students' questions.

Investigator: Are there any organisations or institutions inviting some senior performers like your mother to instruct regular lessons?

TO07: Yes! She used to teach Taiwanese Opera at the Wu-fu Elementary School on Fengshang for numerous years. She delivered year-end drama every year to demonstrate her instruction achievement.

Investigator: What about this year?

TO07: There is no performance this year.

Investigator: How come?

TO07: I don't know. However, the said elementary school has repeatedly invited her instruction at least for 4 years.

Investigator: As you said, you have lived with your parents at your troupe from your childhood on. Do you learn something in opera singing and posing?

TO07: Yes! I do learn some. However, they don't give me any regular lessons and I am taught through observations.

Investigator: If so, you should have some opportunities to perform on stage when you were a child, right?

TO07: After I grew up, I come to school. I have no regular lessons to follow. However, I just learn something naturally.

Investigator: Do you have any other brother or sister to pass on the cultural transmission?

TO07: No!

Investigator: No one, right?

TO07: I am the only one for cultural transmission. My jobs are more associated with Taiwanese Opera.

Investigator: As you said, your mother is living in Pingtung. And then, where is your father?

TO07: My father had passed away. In the said cultural transmission, we put some of his old pictures in files. Recently, there has been a graduate school student writing a dissertation about the cultural achievement of my mother.

**Participant: HP05**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Participant: HP06**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Puppeteer**

**Participant: HP12**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Staff**

**Time: 14.00-17.00, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2010**

**Location: Office of troupe**

Investigator: Your troupe is a family business and you are one the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation. Are you planning to have any apprentice or inheritance of your own children?

HP05: Currently, there is no such an idea and some consideration of economic and time-consuming effort must be taken. The family business means direct inheritance based on self-owned capital. It spends NTD 300 million at least if another new troupe is to be established. It is intolerable for any normal people. With the decreasing performance opportunities for traditional temple fairs, apprentice is only available for amateur interest but never allowable for profession.

Investigator: Is your troupe mostly composed of your own family members?

HP05: No! We have 22 troupe members with one third of them from student clubs at universities.

Investigator: About your lessons, are them instructed one-on-one or traditional auditoriums regularly?

HP05: It depends on the personal interest of apprentices. Apprentices can learn what they want based on their personal inclinations differently but they perform jointly.

Investigator: How about your practice schedules?

HP05: We often practice on weekends.

Investigator: Can I attend your team practice if there is any?

HP05: To be a leader is never easy. A leader must implement harmonious coordination and settle internal disputes. As I often tell my troupe apprentices, every puppeteer acts just like an actor. Puppets are stuffs without life within. However, if puppeteers can nimbly operate puppets, then any role can be performed vividly. Actors and puppets should be united together and the soul of puppets is derived from the skills of puppeteers. In puppet show, there are 20 to 30 roles but there is a vocal leader merely to express various roles with anger and delight jointly. If anyone cannot adapt to any role changes,

he is unsuitable to act as a vocal leader.

HP05: Oftentimes, matinee shows are less important and it is exactly the excellent occasion to practice vocal. The night-time show is often performed by the most senior master. There is no seniority among apprentices. To learn puppetry well, you have to inquire incessantly.

Investigator: Do you have children?

HP05: I have a daughter aging 9 and she also knows how to manipulate puppets. However, I respect to my daughter's free will. Everything cannot be forced.

Investigator: How about the stress-resistance of apprentices?

HP05: They cannot face work stress unavailable for blaming and corporal punishment.

Investigator: How about your performance events?

HP05: Our performance events are often available for temple fairs, public performance, school promotion, year-end shows of companies, private assemblies, and the like.

HP05: The promotion at elementary schools means puppetry in Taiwanese. We also use Chinese to explain the vocal lines in Taiwanese. However, children are not proficient in Taiwanese and we use puppetry to teach local languages. We have visited 50 to elementary schools winning their positive affirmation.

Investigator: Aside from the performance revenue, do meet both ends economically and required for governmental sponsorship?

HP05: We extremely need governmental support. Particularly, we are devoted to novelty and change. Therefore, we are often trapped in deficit or difficult economic conditions

Investigator: Do you have any suggestions to cultural policies?

HP05: We are well supported by the Kaohsiung government. However, even if we conduct payable performances, there is still a deficit amount of NTD 300,000. Local governmental support is limited actually and a great amount of sponsorship is unavailable. After we filed the application to the CCA, we find most support is infused to the northern troupes not the southern ones. We are planning do something that outdoor puppetry is not daring to do, but actually we receive no governmental subsidy. Central committee members must pay more on-site visits to rural areas but save much effort on written information. It seems very rash governmental support mostly focuses on some troupes with better relationship or renowned reputation. We feel very unfair. As the realty indicates, the number of troupes around this island is impossibly uncountable. In fact, there are some troupes with an empty shell but still apply for budget frequently. Whenever any show to be performed, they start to barrow personnel and props somewhere else. Such a trend spoils the common atmosphere. The governmental subsidies must be infused to some endeavouring troupes; otherwise the meaning of transmission will be lost.

Investigator: Is there any review criteria for the central committee to appraise troupes?

HP05: To my mind, selected troupes have better public relationship. If not, it will be stressed by influential people locally. Traditional puppetry is quite different from our golden-light puppets. A traditional puppet can be used to play different roles without changing its costumes and hair dresses. However, the producing price of golden-light puppets (NTD 20,000) is about ten times as that of traditional puppets.

Investigator: Are your theatre performance planned for public issuance?

HP05: Yes, we do have public issuance 3 or 4 months after performances normally.

Investigator: Are your performances commissioned to the broadcasting companies for production?

HP05: They are mainly in charge of cover post-producing but we issue the films.

Investigator: Are facing less economical difficulty because you have developed the fields of cultural creativity?

HP05: It is also tough. We produce our own puppet costumes and are highly famous in this profession. We have numerous customers especially troupes because our costumes are good-looking and durable.

Investigator: Is your puppet costume wearable if in a real human size?

HP05: It is wearable.

Investigator: How about the composition of the review committee?

HP05: 70% members are governmental and 30% are academic. There are some committee members privately revealing there are some legislators lobbying for some qualified troupes.

Investigator: Do you have any labour union?

HP05: The labour union never exerts any function and its past existence was only because there was no official Culture Bureau but the Education Bureau. After the Culture Bureau is established, we are unwilling to join the labour union. The labour union just collect our money but do nothing for us with some gifts available on the Labour's Day only. They never fill in the shoes of troupes. Many troupes are highly disappointed to the labour union. After the Culture Bureau is established, we depend on it so much. The labour union is composed of numerous troupes. Once the labour union never voices for used and the union chief starts to loot any subsidy and benefit, we became dissatisfied.

Investigator: Is there any ideal candidate to assume this post?

HP05: No one is interested in this post because the Culture Bureau has been established and there is no corruption room for the labour union. Joining the labour union, every troupe member has to pay monthly union fees. It is good if there is any remuneration returnable, however, we only find the union chief is busy in looting whatever

beneficial. He is a high school teacher and also my apprentice, acting as our administration staff and performance event contact.

Investigator: How to evaluate the skill levels of vocal leader? Is there any standard available?

HP06: It depends on performance contents. If the performance is based on ancient books, some details like Luo-Gu-Dian, stage-in and stage-out acts highly similar to the Beijing Operas. If a Golden-light puppet show is performed, the operating skills of puppets are naturally important with the focus particularly on special effect, music-lighting arrangement and splendid props.

Investigator: Is the appraisal objective in every aspect?

HP06: Certainly, we aspire for objective appraisals. However, actually, some unfair and very subjective results still exist. We are privately heard some appraisal members enjoy intimate relationship with certain troupes. It is slightly difficult to be fair, public and open. Whenever we join a contest, we do hope everything is fair, public and open with our advantages and disadvantages constructively discussed but never in a black box only. We are told about some inside stories of illegal awarding and some are even real facts. Some viewers also attend the contesting shows and they are also confused about some troupes with excellent performance but fail in the contest. Anywhere, they just treat it like free shows only. However, some suggestions can be proposed now. For example, if some troupes give inferior performance, they can offer some opinions and this is a better mechanism.

Investigator: How long have you been in the field of puppetry?

HP06: I spent 10 years of in-depth effort in puppetry. Since my childhood, I have been highly interested in puppetry. I could not engage in this field too much due to academic pressure. Despite my decent economic conditions, parents allowed me to attend the puppetry but never hoped I joined this field professionally. My later involvement was because I met with such a team coincidentally. I used to spend a long time to communicate with my family members and then I started my official involvement.

Investigator: You have a stable job and your family should never object, right? Are they afraid you spend much time in this?

HP06: Not really! To my mind, it is a conceptual issue. In their mind, they suppose troupe runners to be the ones with lower economic and social status. Actually, such an issue always exists in the communication between me and my family members. To our mind, it is a very normal job, a part of our cultural industries. I am really highly willing to combine my job and interest together.

Investigator: Do you have any opinions to the association between puppetry and the cultural creativity industries and tangible cultural assets? How do you play your own role in the tradition and innovation as a puppet or opera troupe?

HP06: If only in view of puppetry, traditionally, they are inherited with numerous doings from the Beijing Opera including the arrangement of Luo-Gu-Dian, back-field, front-field and puppets. After they developed in Taiwan, it becomes a cultural creativity industry but share no official title as we say now. Till now, the title of cultural creativity emerges. About the period from our puppetry and golden lighting puppetry till TV puppetry including the Piling puppetry, they have become a part of cultural creativity industries. In terms of performance ways, TV puppetry is different from our outdoor puppetry in some aspects. TV puppetry is combined with numerous sound-light effects with quick-changing creativity. In retrospect of our outdoor puppetry, we are also a part of cultural creativity industries because we always pursue novelty and change. Certainly, aside from the wayside of cultural creativity industries, we also remain intangible heritage, namely our pass-on missions. We develop such a drama without losing its original form.

Investigator: If there is no one among your children continuing your legacy, how do you feel about this?

HP05: To my mind, upcoming generations get worse naturally. If my children are unwilling to continuing my troupe legacy, it is also available for my apprentice. Legacy is an inescapable mission, but I cannot be sure of good or bad inheritance. No one can tell the future.

Investigator: So, you keep current conditions going well and save the effort to worry about inheritance, right?

HP06: Actually, we have started the promotion effort at schools since quite an earlier time. Probably, upcoming inheritance is not a family business anymore but like a company. For example, the Cirque du Soleil is also a team composed of different members from every corner in the world. They often select some talents from various sub-classified departments. We hope people with the passion to join used and raise new talents. We also hope someday with the powerful support from companies and government. There is some puppetry schools established with an excellent professional channel available. In view of the social and economic conditions currently, there is no space for this idea and they suppose our puppetry performance to be the entertainment for small mass only. They suspect the investment and worry about the weak results after investment.

Investigator: Is it available for some large troupes stepping into delicate art with higher additive value available for business management? If in the perspective of cultural creativity business, government agencies suppose it is worthy or governmental support.

HP05: Yeah!

Investigator: About the weak troupes on the rim of crisis, government agencies suppose they

never spend so much money in this and leave them vanish finally.

HP05: Yeah! Let strong ones become stronger but leave weak ones flunked out.

Investigator: Well!

HP06: The rich becomes richer but the poor become poorer. Additionally, taking the shadow play for example, it is entirely supported by the local government on Kaohsiung because of its locally-rooted characteristics. For puppetry, it has become a strong characteristic and force on Yunlin County. However, it quite a tough job because there numerous troupes competing. To become the number one is naturally a harsh challenge. Adversely, our puppetry stands out on Kaohsiung because we always pursue change but also keep some cultural inheritances.

Investigator: Like the troupe chief yourself, do you think you are a kind of cultural asset?

HP05: I do suppose myself to be the cultural asset because I am a skilful artist. But, where is the stage for my skill? We can only perform our puppetry on Kaohsiung and receive no emphasis from the CCA. It is also a gap in the cultural asset and practically local cultural development recognised by the CCA.

Investigator: Yeah!

HP05: The cultural industries include the puppetry and Taiwanese Opera. It depends on what you are. Why always supporting rich troupes, government agencies should support small troupes to make them grow up. They always invest on some specific troupes but never take other troupes into consideration. Assume every troupe is the cultural asset, some enjoy the perform stages, but some without resource should face the survival crisis.

HP06: Actually, we always hope for a decent achievement. It is also why we promoted our theatre version of our own puppetry last year despite the harsh economic conditions. We also received governmental attention. Actually, we never want governmental full support but some subsidies for some projects for our effort available.

HP05: Therefore, as I say, in answer to your question, it is an issue about attitude. Now, we are only a local troupe; however, we decide to act better to receive the island-wide reputation. Anyway, it is a difficult job.

Investigator: Do you think the classification system is feasible?

HP05: I think so!

HP06: However, it is required for numerous considerations to put into practice.

Investigator: Like what?

HP05: Numerous people are just dissatisfied with the result. Why secondary? In puppetry, every troupe cannot cooperate harmoniously.

HP06: It is involved with traditional performance. For traditional puppetry, it exists in some accessible to appraise some skills like postures, stage-in or stage-out. Instead, it exists

in vague criteria to appraise the golden light puppetry actually.

HP06: In Taiwan, there are scholars with in-depth involvement in traditional puppetry. Even some famous scholars are proficient in theories only. Actually, practical performance in puppetry is quite different from theories.

HP05: Some theories are highly subjective and difficult for scoring appraisals.

HP06: We also hope our peers in the same trade can grow, learn and cooperate mutually.

HP05: We also attend the performance of human-like puppetry and Taiwanese Opera.

HP06: We also attend theatre performances.

HP05: We observe to find out their advantages and disadvantages. Actually, we attend various kinds of theatres.

Investigator: We never work behind a closed door.

HP05: Yeah! We will observe the stage frameworks of others to experience their lighting arrangement. In the experimental theatre performance, we invite professional teachers to instruct us.

HP06: In the future, if we are planning to conduct our performance in the northern Taiwan, we have some ideas and points for our attentive effort.

HP05: We have spent much in learning practical experience.

Investigator: Can tell how much for the entire production cost?

HP06: About NTD 1 million.

HP05: By subtracting performance income and subsidies, a deficit of NTD 300,000 is still left.

Investigator: Are you planning to conduct the performance somewhere else like mainland China or other countries?

HP05: Probably in future. We firstly do our part well on Kaohsiung followed by Taipei. Afterwards, we develop internationally.

HP06: For now, what we begin is to discern from the delicacy difference from outdoor and indoor performances. The viewers of outdoor performance have got used to free performance and they are highly reluctant to enjoy the performance indoors. Therefore, we have to make some discerning difference and educate southern viewers to get used to payable performance.

Investigator: Do you have any connection with the media?

HP05: I have more connections with plane media like newspapers.

HP06: More connections with plane media. Up to now, we still depend much on the interaction between the Culture Bureau and the press media. I hope my every performance event can be reported.

Investigator: Do you have any regular procedure when you are instructing some basic skills?

HP05: Improving. We allow apprentices for personal experience. They can ask me whatever



any question arisen.

Investigator: They should firstly practice operating puppets.

HP06: For the part of self-learning, once new apprentices join, I will allow them to experience all aspects of skills or trial. After they pass the trial, we start the training phase.

HP05: Despite the figure of any apprentice, when they firstly join our troupe, they should experience all kinds of tasks. We can find out their suitable aspect available. Everyone is vested with different talents. Some can operate puppets but show their incapacity in others.

Investigator: Puppetry is played in Taiwanese. What will happen, if anyone cannot speak Taiwanese?

HP05: It is unavailable for puppetry played in Chinese and the accent is very weird.

HP06: However, some roles can be added with some lines of Chinese or foreign languages.

HP05: People in mainland China are feverish in Pili puppetry even if they do not know Taiwanese.

HP06: Because there are subtitles available.

HP05: Subtitles are available for public performances, but not for temple fairs.

HP06: Our public performance must be added with subtitles.

Investigator: How do you mark subtitles?

HP06: We use the projector.

Investigator: Do you sell some peripheral commodities?

HP05: Some stage photos and posters.

Investigator: Do you sell action dolls?

HP06: We were planning to issue action dolls but failed due to excessively high cost. We have not developed idol dolls yet. However, it is a feverish trend. After our income is stable, we will gradually issue peripheral commodities.

Investigator: Well!

HP06: There used to be teacher inviting used to join the art festival of Avignon last year.

Investigator: Well! In France?

HP12: In Scotland!

HP05: Yeah! In Edinburgh!

Investigator: Well! Have you visited the Art Festival of Edinburgh?

HP05: No! It takes a month and I cannot leave my job behind.

Investigator: Are you afraid of business suspension?

HP05: August is a busy season for used.

HP12: Taiwan government just provides boarding subsidies and rent a dorm for us. We have to prepare other budget items and even employee salaries on our own.

HP06: It is impossible for other troupe members to take a month long leave. It will cost much

in transporting puppets and equipment.

Investigator: Insurance also required.

HP06: Yeah! It is a heavy burden.

HP05: Therefore, we are planning to refuse this invitation but we are passionately invited by the teacher and the Culture Bureau. It depends if governmental subsidies are sufficient?

HP12: By the way, governmental subsidies are only available for airfreight and boarding and we still have to pay land transportation fees on our own.

HP05: Now, the apprentice number is still increasing. There two more new apprentices under our observatory evaluation. Some treat our troupes as a stepping stone, once they finish the training, they will relocate to the Piling Troupe. We don't teach someone with such an intention.

Investigator: Well! A question, please! Do you, as a troupe chief, add some new elements in your performance like stunts, magic, and the face changing of Shicuan Opera?

HP05: Our show is original.

Investigator: The face changing of Shicuan Opera has become an intangible asset and they also severely select apprentices. The skill is training should be after a long inspection.

HP05: It used to be but now things have changed.

Investigator: So now?

HP05: You can learn a whole set of the skills if you pay.

Investigator: A whole set of skills will be taught, right?

HP05: Really. Someone not knowing this skill used to refer to me. People can pay the whole set of skills at a price of NTD 30,000.

Investigator: Do you learn this in mainland China?

HP05: I learn and practice by imitating the variety shows on TV.

Investigator: Speed means everything, right?

HP05: Yeah! We are the first puppetry troupe to conduct the performances of face changing of Shicuan Opera. After 3 or 4years of our performance, there some other troupes started the face operas during the past two years. Others are also changing to improve themselves.

Investigator: How many faces are conducted in your show?

HP05: 12 faces.

Investigator: 12. How many faces are conducted in Shicuan face operas normally?

HP05: 6 to 8 faces.

Investigator: 8 faces.

HP05: We do not change faces only, but also change puppet costumes.

Investigator: Simultaneously. What a swift.

HP05: We arrangement the plot suitable for outdoor performance like a 30-minute or 1-hour shows. The plots are copied by others almost entirely.

Investigator: Peering observatory learning and appraisal are required sometimes.

HP05: Mutual appraisal is required but some are blind in their conscience. Some of our peers act ignobly.

HP06: They have no symbiotic concept.

Investigator: Is puppetry is affixed to ancient book plays?

HP05: No! We conduct more performances of golden light puppetry with unlimited imagination.

Investigator: Well!

HP06: Taking the puppetry viewers among the new generation for example, they have got used to the style of the Pili Troupe.

Investigator: Do they think puppetry is something just like that?

HP06: Yeah! Like the style conducted by Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang. It is more ancient highly accepted by the old generation but the population become smaller gradually.

Investigator: How about the majority age group of your puppetry fans?

HP06: Most are males.

HP05: They about age 20 to 30.

Investigator: How about teenage students?

HP06: They about age 14 or 15.

HP05: The age ranges from 14 to 35.

HP06: However, some older viewers can accept our innovative stuffs still.

Investigator: How about the major subjects of outdoor performance?

HP06: Outdoor performance is mostly conducted for temple fairs and axed with the stories of our own main actors.

HP12: For this role, there are a series of scenarios prepared. We conduct a long performance lasting for several years. We also add some plots gradually.

HP06: Some stories are adapted with some plots associated with interesting on-going event socially. These plots are normally played in the clown shows.

Investigator: Make funny plots, right?

HP12: Yeah! The public performance held by government agencies belongs to the types of unit drama due to the viewers of foreign visitors. The occasion is inappropriate to conduct the performance with a series of plots.

**Participant: HP07**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Time: 14.00-15.40, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2010**

**Location: Residence of participant**

HP07: Last year, Kaohsiung organised the World Games. We took this opportunity to conduct our performances with the art of our traditional opera promoted to the international communities.

Investigator: Well!

HP07: We also especially presented a founding ceremony. Because it was our first show, we considered it more prudentially than ever. Because of folk religious belief, in the founding ceremony, we had to firstly worship our patron deity - the Lord of Western Qin, and then worship to invite the Marshal Tiandu to purify the stage. To our mind, this tradition was worthy of preservation. Of course, it is not just due to the ceremony of preservation, but due to the preservation of the culture, including the promotion for the concepts of cultural transmission. We did not only perform puppet shows, but also integrated ourselves into neighbouring communities and schools sometimes. For example, we performed the dramas dealing with environmental protection. Besides, the scripts had to be closely related to social events.

Investigator: What is the folk opera?

HP07: It is the opera performed for religious ceremonies, but we also try our best to attend public performances. From the end of last year onward, I had started to make preparation. We are planning to raise new artists. Because fewer and fewer people are willing to learn, I boldly assume many theatre companies will be merged, or face their decline in the future.

Investigator: If so, what about the role and task allocation for the vocal leaders of the original two troupes? I think the main purpose is intended for cultural transmission. Therefore, after theatre companies are merged, we can select one or two younger artists and raise them to become the best vocal leaders. This is exactly our fostering program. Otherwise, I feel there is no way for completely cultural transmission only through campus promotion. Students face their own issues of advanced studies and some well-organised performance teams will be dismissed probably.

HP07: Puppet shows can be about divided into the traditional hand puppetry and the golden light hand puppetry. Therefore, firstly, we have to determine where we are aiming for our development. About learning traditional hand puppetry, we must think about the part of backstage music. About learning the golden light puppetry, we must prepare

puppets in a larger size. However, from the very beginning, novices must learn manipulating smaller traditional puppets firstly. HP07: Besides, scenery painting is also a part required for further development. Sometimes we prefer children somewhat rebellious without strong academic ambition. If so, we won't face the problem for their advanced studies.

Investigator: Are you originally registered on the Kaohsiung City? Why did you move to Pingtung County thereafter?

HP07: In fact, I started my career in Pingtung County. To register this troupe on Kaohsiung was because we had some artists dwelling on Kaohsiung. The opportunities for public performances were more frequent on Pingtung County. The reason to establish this troupe is to take it for a platform. This troupe does not belong to me only yet the determined partners spending effort in puppetry.

Investigator: About puppet sculptures and costumes, do you have your masters in producing these?

HP07: We do have our own masters to continue the cultural transmission. He is my puppetry fellow and he started carving Buddhist statues from his childhood.

Investigator: He is proficient in sculpture.

HP07: Yes, I invited him to carve puppets.

Investigator: Is there any experience exchange available for the sculptures among traditional art, Buddhism and Taoism?

HP07: Mostly, they exchange their experience. When dedicated sculpture masters are invited, we will divide the sculpture tasks into traditional puppetry or golden light puppetry. The sculpture process is very delicate.

Investigator: About your instruction of different levels like professional artists and campus promotion, do you have any instruction CDs available for the general population?

HP07: This is what we are planning in the future.

Investigator: For a layman, to what extent can he achieve in this art?

HP07: Just the basic level.

Investigator: How long have you engaged in this art? Have you contacted any political figures? Do you have any suggestions for local and central competent authorities?

HP07: Good question! The Central Council for Cultural Affairs is a central department and the Cultural Office is a local department. However, there is no department dedicated to cultural affairs on villages or townships. Now, I sincerely hope there is a platform available for villages and townships to develop small groups by materialising the effort grassroots.

Investigator: To establish a rating system, right?

HP07: Yes! It includes administrative affairs such as authoring proposals. Some troupes

without basic computer knowledge cannot present their applications. It is a part required to be changed.

Investigator: Talking about proposals, how do they select an excellent team through paper reviewing?

HP07: After proposals are submitted, they shall be firstly reviewed by the personnel in charge in writing forms. Thereafter, lists are given to adjudicators for re-examination. Excellent written applications cannot ensure you to receive governmental budgets. During the re-examination, you must conduct the puppet performance before them.

Investigator: Are audience attending?

HP07: No, only adjudicators attending. They will evaluate our professionalism based on proposal contents and performances to allocate budgets. If presenting a CD, people can submit their best performances. However, live shows are better for re-examinations.

Investigator: As you just said about the rating system resource allocation, do you think it is available to establish such a rating system like Level A, B and C?

HP07: Impossible, no objective criteria available. My opinion is that anyone receiving county subsidies is not allowed to receive any governmental subsidies from any level below the county. Therefore, during the initial review, the personnel in charge shall screen out anyone receiving double governmental subsidies.

Investigator: Do not re-apply downward.

HP07: Right! Anyone degrading troupe reveals its laziness.

Investigator: In addition to your aggressive effort for campus promotion, do you have any apprentice?

HP07: Very few! Because normal performances are frequently conducted now, folk operas are fewer. People are less willing to give delicate performances for the birthday festivals of the gods. Folk operas fall into a pretentious form. Because outdoor movies are cheaper, some presents movies only, but some others also invite the performances conducted by amusing cars.

Investigator: You said you have a plan to gather some excellent groups in the southern regions and foster one or two promising young artists. If so, is there any age range being targeted?

HP07: I hope the candidate must be at the age over twenty. If so, there is no consideration about his academic studies and the learning effort won't be interrupted. Above all, the candidate shall take huge interest in puppetry. I used to teach old men, but their learning was really slow. I have to treat them respectfully due to their ages and I dared not correct their faults. They got a bad memory and repeated instruction seemed awfully inevitable. The last one is the instruction to raise learning interest.

Investigator: Now, the younger generation dare not invest themselves because of livelihoods. Do you think what specific governmental effort should be done to eliminate their worry?

HP07: Currently, this part is more difficult. What we can do now is only intended for the encouragement of timely development. I feel quite lamented that government sometimes casually holds a campaign costing hundreds or tens of millions. If this budget can be dedicated to troupes, these troupes can foster some talents.

Investigator: Well!

HP07: So in fact, I'm more concerned about cultural transmission and preservation. This is exactly what can do now.

Investigator: Because you have such a cultural background, I really expect you become an elected representative.

HP07: However, my single effort is limited.

Investigator: But things start changing at least.

HP07: Yes! We do contact some experts and scholars. However, some don't know our difficulties.

Investigator: Do you want your child to invest in this field?

HP07: It's up to her decision. If she like, I would teach her; otherwise, I won't force her to learn this. Taking my family for example, puppetry is not our family business. My career is just because I like puppetry.

Investigator: In addition to puppetry, did you take interest in others during your school days?

HP07: I did take interest in puppetry only. My family used to run the business of civil engineering and lead a better-off life. I used to be always nagged by my families, but now they won't do so. The integrity of our performers is highly important. Generally, performances are invited without a contractual basis yet oral agreement only. Prices and timeshare are determined orally.

Investigator: Some people feel palm puppetry is the domestic opera in China, but the hand puppetry is exactly the domestic opera in Taiwan. Do you agree it?

HP07: I think they are rooted from the same one. What it counts is not the palm puppetry or the hand puppetry or whatever schools, but the skills and the ways to pass on this culture.

Investigator: Well!

HP07: Puppetry is actually integrated with a variety of dramas. Also, puppetry still keeps on innovation and changing.

Investigator: It is required to retain the audience riding on the prevailing trends.

HP07: Right! For us, we mainly conduct the performances of golden light hand puppetry and it is different from TV Hand Puppetry.

Investigator: How old did you start to learn puppetry?

HP07: Fourteen years old.

Investigator: OK! From whom did you learn?

HP07: I learned puppetry from my uncle and he was a troupe owner. I went to help him and learned puppetry gradually.

Investigator: Does your uncle still operate his troupe?

HP07: They still operate and also step into theatre performances.

Investigator: How to evaluate excellent troupes with the difference existing between the golden light hand puppetry and traditional puppetry?

HP07: It depends on the relationship between actual performance and proposal contents. Therefore, it is necessary to invite scholars and experts for evaluation. However, when some unscrupulous scholars knew we're going for reviews, they requested us to treat with dinners and gifts. How can we afford this with meagre subsidies?

Investigator: Such a corrupted phenomenon is really disagreeable.

HP07: Since we start contributing something to our culture, we should behave with our own conscience.



**Participant: HP08**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Time: 16.30-19.30, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2010**

**Location: Residence of participant**

HP08: When I was an apprentice, I learned few of these, even stringing. When I was an apprentice, I used to touch stringing, but I spent no special effort on that. At that time, I spent more time in puppet playing.

Investigator: Mainly focusing on opera playing, right?

HP08: Yes! I used to learn something about drum playing. However, as a vocal leader, I had to sing songs on my own. If no vocal singing on my own, the performances should heavily depend on back stage crews. Therefore, what back stage crews learned was something like these. They were finally developed into record publications later. After records were available on markets, some stuffs faded away gradually. At that time, the Hand Puppetry of drum playing and martial fighting paid little attention to plot balance. Thereafter, Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang introduced western music. Later on, Japanese music was introduced also. However, there are still some traditions like Beiguan back-stage music to be preserved necessarily. It slowly develops into current status with martial fighting turning into Golden Light Hand Puppetry. I used to read some scholars' articles from books. They said it was difficult to give any affirmed conclusion because puppets were small in size. When I was an apprentice aging 12, it was about in the 1960s; I used to see puppets with a very large size.

Investigator: Not all puppets were small in size at that time, right?

HP08: Yes! Their ideas are sheer wrong. As I say, people having no participating experience will never know something like these. In the past, there used to be some puppets with a human-like size. However, they know nothing about these.

Investigator: You mean some books have no reliable scientific reference available, right?

HP08: Yes! Therefore, it is difficult to define 'tradition' such as the 'ancient tastes' of food or beverages.

Investigator: You mean is required to regulate a period for 'tradition', right?

HP08: Yes! When I was an apprentice, puppet playing had been divided into indoor-stage performances and outdoor-stage performances. Indoor-stage performances were always conducted in theatres with ticket income feasible. At that time, there were few outdoor-stage puppet troupes because people conducting outdoor-stage performances were still apprentices including me. As I just said, when I was an apprentice, there had been puppets with a human-like size and their eyes and mouths were movable.

However, the audience could not recognise the facial expressions due to a longer distance. Inside the puppets, a stick can be used to manipulate some actions like thinking something with actions of waving fans or scratching heads. This is what we call Ten-De-Zong. Even when larger puppets are manipulated, it is also required to use Ten-De-Zong. When we are talking about this, I have to tell you something about puppets firstly. When puppets are developed into such a situation, Ten-De-Zong is required by larger puppets to conduct the action of waving fans.

Investigator: Teacher Su, where do you teach puppets? I would like to attend your classes.

HP08: I teach puppets at an elementary school.

Investigator: Are your classes available for adult students?

HP08: Certainly available. Recently, our classes have been finished almost. Pupils have started their practice for upcoming performances. The classes usually start at 1.30 pm on Tuesdays with courses available. When a person is manipulating two puppets simultaneously, the vocal performances should be one after another immediately and actions must be conducted simultaneously. It is not as easy as a large-size puppet manipulated by a person simply. In addition, aside from vocal speech, if there is any martial fighting, there should be some actions with both defence and offence conducted simultaneously and necessarily inclusive of some flipping actions of puppets. If large-size puppets are manipulated, both people should make pairing performances well prepared. However, pairing performances just have some actions only and the preparation is easier. If we talk about TV Hand Puppetry, the screen images are previously edited. For example, the action of jumping down is required for some takes, whenever the action is NG, it can be repeatable.

Investigator: There are several shots.

HP08: Yes! The frames are continued one by one. The jump-up action is also required for some frames in a reverse order identically. I used to be the puppet manipulator for CTV Hand Puppetry. Do you know how much time to record a puppet jump-up action? That was a large-size puppet and it took almost an hour for recording only with inferior results available. An hour of Hand Puppetry shows about take one and a half month for play recording.

Investigator: Did you ever develop your career in northern Taiwan?

HP08: I just stayed a while at CTV.

Investigator: How many years did you stay on Taipei?

HP08: I just had stayed 2 to 3 years there. In the past, the famous artist on Taipei was Wang Hsu. I used to chat with him and he said he announced on newspaper, 'he conducts traditional back-stage and drumming performances. This part is only available on Taipei and it has disappeared in the southern Taiwan. What he said was true. When I

was an apprentice, I was just a teenager. Just before I served my obligatory military service, I still conducted back-stage puppet performance. After I finished my military service and came back to the puppet troupe again, I found almost every backstage performer had left. What he said was a truth like this situation. Therefore, I backed to Kaohsiung and started to recruit new troupe members of some backstage performers still alive. After I found them, I started to establish a goal to pursue. Coincidentally, we had an administrative secretary in our Hand Puppetry association highly willing to help me after I informed him such a situation. From then on, I attempted to promote Hand Puppetry and there was no one doing something like this Kaohsiung. Puppet operas in the past were highly popular yet not deserted like now. The Hand Puppetry had their climax in the 1980s. I started my cultural promotion since the 1980s. I found scholars from the National Normal University and a director of the education bureau. At that time, there was some sponsorship budget from the education bureau. I also contacted the former principal of the Hang-Ming Elementary School and he took huge interest on Hand Puppetry. We started some classes together. At that time, there was no one teaching Hand Puppetry at elementary schools. I invited backstage artists to teach drumming performances and I taught front-stage performances. After I started the promotion, we received close attention of the print media and everyone was highly interested. This crash class lasting for 3 months with 2 courses a week. What did students learn just from 2 courses a week? There were totally 10 more hours of courses after 3 months spending. Thereafter, schools started to review the performances of learning achievement. When we were apprentices, we had to spend 3 years and 4 months learning Hand Puppetry. At that time, we stayed at theatres to touch Hand Puppetry for 6 hours every day. In the past, there were 3 hours of matinee performances and 3 hours of evening performances separately. Thus, we spent 6 hours to touch Hand Puppetry every day. If the morning practice hours were also counted in, we practiced for 10 more hours every day. However, pupils have to conduct performances after few hours of learning merely. Therefore, it is typical crash class. However, modern pupils are smarter and they can bring out some prototypes of Hand Puppetry. However, they can reach some decent achievement. Following that, they can continue their practices at all times. Sometimes, these pupils are invited for community events or activities. Whenever pupils are invited for performances, there are 30 or 40 pupils conducting performances together. They are quite a large performance team. Therefore, it seems to be some decent achievement for the cultural promotion of Hand Puppetry. We talk about theatres again. In the past, we had few pastimes and TV was not as prevalent as it is now. Aside from radio plays, we usually watch operas.

HP08: TV puppet plays just showed on TV when I was going for military service. It was a time in the 1970s about. The voice of Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang was highly welcomed by the audience. However, the voice of Hsu Wang was featured with heavy Zhangzhou accent highly unacceptable to some of the audience. As I found, some others subsequently joining the performances were still unacceptable by the audience. Actually, I took no interest in Hand Puppetry. I was firstly captured by Hand Puppetry through the sophisticated performances made an excellent artist when I was a 5th grader of an elementary school student. However, there were outdoor-stage puppet performances unable to attract me. Once I was captured by the excellent artist, I watched his puppet performance every day and even did not go to school. I stayed at the theatre all day long and even ate lunches there.

Investigator: Well! You are deeply captured.

HP08: There were numerous children as apprentices and I got along with them harmoniously. At that time, I stayed a long time at theatres after class. My father always napped me back from the puppet theatre. Frankly speaking, my father felt so sad about me and he worked for public service. He could not bear me to learn puppet performances. After I graduated from the elementary school, I followed the excellent puppet artist, but all my family members rejected my decision. I followed him to move to another place after his performances were finished. Till I aged 14, my father napped me back again and I was forced to join the entrance examination of junior high schools.

Investigator: Are you the only one boy in your family?

HP08: No, in my family, there were two boys and two girls. I am the younger boy. My elder brother has retired from the petroleum company. In the past, when we watched Hand Puppetry, we mainly focused on the performances of vocal leader, namely their timbre, tone, and meaningful vocal speech. The speech should be featured with a little bit humour but no vulgarity. The audience in the past always said, 'watching Hand Puppetry should focus on vocal leader, but while watching Taiwanese Opera or Chinese operas should focus on postures of performers.' Puppets have no their own life and their vigour is infused by people. Their emotions should be expressed by vocal leader. Therefore, whenever you watch Hand Puppetry, you have to focus on vocal leader; you can find the skill levels of artists. In the past, there was no subtitle available for Hand Puppetry. Therefore, the vocal speech should be pronounced clearly. The charming part of Hand Puppetry is exactly vocal leader. Other skills like puppet manipulation, stunts, lighting and background are nothing but icing on the cake. However, if the Hand Puppetry is only available for martial fighting, the audience will definitely feel bored. In the past, the theatre performances for puppet troupes are 20 days for every performance occasion. If the performances were excellent, they would

be re-invited by theatres. Therefore, the performance occasions for puppet troupes would be longer and maybe they could perform a month long with 10 days more. If people found the performances were really brilliant, the performance occasions were often prolonged to 3 months or 6 months. Certainly, Hand Puppetry was all payable performances. For example, at that time, an ordinary worker was paid with few hundred NTDs a month, but it cost NTD 2 to 3 to watch performances including some fees like parking, beverages and food altogether, right? How could they afford such an amount? There should be something particularly striking. Taking our puppet masters for example, whenever our masters are conducting performances, they can always reveal role emotions sufficiently with excellent explanation available despite their touching voices. In addition, what they say is featured with profound meanings and they can speak classical speech, slangs or something about folk rites. The stories for Hand Puppetry to explain should include the elements of when, where, who, what and how. Our puppet artists really perform splendidly in this aspect, even in astronomy, geography, contemporary affairs or jokes. Furthermore, any abrupt jokes will trigger the laughing feedback of the audience easier or the audience will wisely smile when they hear something touchable. In a nutshell, empathy always happens to the audience. For example, they are some audiences showing their sense of justice and throwing objects on the stage when good guys are trapped by bad guys. Such a situation really happened to my past puppet performances. There used to be a viewer hoping a bad guy role to die earlier. After a long time of puppet performances, he found the bad guy was not dead yet and he angrily asked me to buy the bad guy puppet. He was planning to tear the puppet apart. This is exactly the sense of justice what I experienced before. The same situation with angry audiences throwing objects on the stages also happening to the audience of Taiwanese Opera if bad guys were too wicked.

Investigator: Throwing some objects at puppets, right?

HP08: Yes! The audience even cursed puppets. Sometimes, our apprentices practiced the vocal leader at matinee performances. The night-time performance is exactly conducted by our masters. If our apprentices conduct inferior matinee performances, audiences will angrily throwing objects or scold us.

Investigator: They are deeply affected by your performances.

HP08: I still remember our masters used to produce a play titled 'the Goddess in the ocean'. He said whenever the goddess appeared; he always used some big ropes to capture the movement of oceanic waves. Can you image something like that? It can be clearly seen puppets artists are all vested with ample imaginations. Whenever the audience feel something impossible, their curiosities are triggered and image the way how to capture the movement of oceanic waves.

HP08: In addition, in the past, there was always a theme song for every puppet role respectively. In the earlier period, these were Japanese songs, but later, most were Taiwanese songs. If plots are too slow-paced, the audience cannot stand this and become noisy. In the past, the theatre gates were opened during the last 15 minutes of opera endings to allow every audience watching the endings for free. Traditional Hand Puppetry are very fascinating. For example, if there are two puppets conversing, they can cite some classical speeches, poems and riddles to reason with the audience. The contexts should highly depend on textual explanations. Not every scene is filled with martial fighting. If so, it will be very boring.

Investigator: Well!

HP08: This is the lovely charm of Hand Puppetry. Usually, the plots of golden light Hand Puppetry cannot deviate from romantic stories, including triangle love stories, men chasing after women, women chasing after men, love turning into hater, hater turning into hater. The plots mean something about love and generosity with return at all possible cost. Therefore, most Hand Puppetry reveal the messages about filial piety, righteousness, carrying forward good deeds and teaching people the truth in life. Since the performances are something about Hand Puppetry, there will be good guys and bad guys naturally. If there is no bad guy in the world, the existence of good guy cannot be highlighted. This is exactly the charm of Hand Puppetry. During the indoor-stage period of Hand Puppetry, theatres were frequently fully occupied. At that time, gold light Hand Puppetry was not prevalent yet. Most Hand Puppetry is ancient martial fighting stories adapted from past histories. Some roles never exist in both official and unofficial histories. However, over-twisting is still unavailable for playwrights. It is available for playwrights writing something about private life. Anyway, the story themes cannot be deviated too far away. At that time when we conducted Hand Puppetry, all conditions of lighting, sound and stages were quite inferior. However, why audiences were still zealous for watching our performances? Such popularity mainly depended on excellently fine puppet manipulation, vocal speeches and plots. In the past, the stage was constructed with 2 or 3 ox carts lined together. There were gaps between ox carts and I used to fall under the ox carts.

Investigator: Were you injured?

HP08: Sure! When we conduct Hand Puppetry, we frequently stamp our feet. Regarding this, I tell you something about the gold light stage. This stuff is rarely known by ordinary people. We used to two electrical cables knotted together and then the explosive effect of a blasting noise could be triggered with electrical shorting. However, when the martial fighting lasted from several minutes, just a blasting noise was never bustling enough. Therefore, the blasting noise was only available for the very ending moment.

At this blasting moment, the bad guy fell down and this was exactly the moment of foot stamping.

Investigator: Sound effect, right?

HP08: Yes! Such an arrangement was featured with stronger and better sound effect.

Investigator: The atmosphere was more bustling.

HP08: Thereafter, gunpowder was used. Maybe, there were few people knowing gunpowder. It shaped like small round pills. When gunpowder was used, gunpowder stands were also required. Thereafter, gunpowder stands were slowly developed from 1 firing holes, to 5, 20 and 30 firing holes. After that, the 'lightning gun' was further developed and the gunpowder stands were made from train rails. Such stuffs could create smoke and it acted like a smoke generator. Before puppets showed up, the smoke was emitted previously. However, the lightning gun had a disadvantage, easily causing fire. There used to be some fire accidents happening to theatres. The lightning gun was forbidden about in the 1978 or 1979. Also, gunpowder is forbidden.

Investigator: It was because of safety consideration, right?

HP08: Yes! In the past, the gunpowder volume at the cost of NTD 10 could destroy a large building. All people working at theatres knew the way to produce gunpowder. In the past, there were no air conditioners at theatres and the air quality was poor. The ventilation was just improved by electrical fans. Generally, there was a custom among theatre performances. From the beginning of opera performances, there had been smoke and sound effect previously. Therefore, all the theatre was filled with gunpowder smoke and smell. Whenever audiences backed to their home, all their bodies were filled with sulphur smell. However, this was also a kind of pleasure in the past.

Investigator: Just like experiencing a hot sprig bath, right?

HP08: Yes! All the body was filled with sulphur smell. In the past, there were few Hand Puppetry troupes, right?

Investigator: Did you follow the troupe to conduct performances, right?

HP08: Yes! The hometown of my master is Huwei. At that time, he conducted touring performances at theatres around the island. As I said, you could have a trial performance at first with an occasion lasting 20 days. If your performances were excellent, the occasion duration for your next performances would last 20 or 30 days and even more. At that time, the performances had be applied for governmental approvals with about NTD 99 taxed.

Investigator: Very expensive tax.

HP08: Exactly! At that time, the total performance income was about NTD 500 or 600, and NTD 800 at most. Therefore, excluding all possible expenditures, the average pay for

everyone was about NTD 50 and the pay was not bad at that time.

Investigator: About 20% was taxed.

HP08: Regarding past gold light Hand Puppetry performances, there had been always some playwrights to write plays, including Taiwanese Opera. In the past, Tian-Lai Wu was the most famous one and there was also another famous one called the puppet wizard, Ming-Hua Chen. Both were famous in the field of Hand Puppetry. Regarding puppet plays, it was quite a problem at that time. The Hand Puppetry was on the show every day and opera plays were urgently required. If artists had the capabilities writing plays, the problem could be solved. However, if there was no talents of play writing, just role naming would cause troubles, especially the role naming for gold light Hand Puppetry.

Investigator: Aside from learning performance skill, it is required to read many books?

HP08: When I was an apprentice, I had to keep on learning at all times. Otherwise, my literacy would be deficient. Most apprentices just observe what masters say and do. Actually, most puppet apprentices have excellent memory and try to learn something as best as they can naturally.

Investigator: They have quick responses.

HP08: Like my radio station interviews, I have no information in hand. I can start any talking at any given moment for any topic.

Investigator: Just like a walking dictionary.

HP08: I just start my talking. Whenever I am invited for public lectures, I have no previous preparation always available any topic at any given moment. Did you ever hear of a deed of 'playwright betting' before performances?

Investigator: You mean betting to select a playwright for performance, right?

HP08: In the pasture, we did have plates marked with play titles. The play for performances was determined by throwing divination blocks.

Investigator: Three throwing divination blocks, right?

HP08: The playwright problem only happened to outdoor-stage performance. For indoor-stage performance, there was no such a problem. There were playwrights available. This was exactly why my masters had conducted Hand Puppetry because he invited Tian-Lai Wu as the playwright.

Investigator: Is he what we call the playwright?

HP08: Exactly! At that time, we just gave the playwright the plot outline and endings. For example, whenever the play title for gold light Hand Puppetry was given, the personalities, identities and kongfu of roles had been about pre-defined. The role points could well pinpointed with the role name including a showup poem available. Such a poem included the backgrounds, personalities and deeds of the role. You can image how much effort spent for giving a play name with 80 more words at most.



Investigator: Wow! 80 more words!

HP08: Yes! A word was used for a phenomenon, like light, shadow and water. I was quite evident. However, there was no limitation for role names in gold light Hand Puppetry. The scripts of theatre performances were mainly written by playwrights. If no playwright available, the job heavily depended on the vocal leader. The masters of outdoor-stage puppet performances would attend indoor-stage puppet performances and stole something like scripts and performance skills from indoor-stage puppet performances. In the past, there was a background at a theatre. The stage should be designed with a wide front space and the background was naturally to be wide, also. In the past, outdoor-stage puppet performances originally used smaller stages and later the stages were wider due to the influence of indoor-stage puppet performances. In the past, a theatre was designed with 3 stages and we called it the 3-stage platform. Later, outdoor-stage puppet performances also adopted such a 3-stage design by patterning after the design for indoor-stage puppet performances. It was because there were numerous outdoor-stage puppet performances patterning after the scripts of indoor-stage puppet performances. Based on script requirements for indoor-stage puppet performances, the puppet designs, props and settings were also improved together. However, at that time, the number of theatres was dramatically increasing, if puppet troupes had no sufficient capabilities, they could not survive from the competition because audiences got fewer. Until the 1980s, underground radio stations started to appear. In addition, there was TV puppet performances conducted by Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang. It was quite difficult for indoor-stage puppet performances to keep their climax. Furthermore, there were also countless outdoor-stage puppet troupes. Even audiences could also conduct some puppet performances and such a situation was mixed both excellent and inferior performance qualities.

Investigator: The performance qualities became inferior.

HP08: Yes! Because TV was prevalent, indoor-stage puppet performances were badly affected, but outdoor-stage puppet performances reached their climax with countless troupes available. During such a period, if there was stunt conducted on TV puppet performances, outdoor-stage puppet performances should follow the feverish trend. Every one competed in backgrounds, stage sizes, lightning and sound effect with considerable improvement available. As I just said previously, from the beginning, the stage was conducted with oxcarts. Thereafter, kerosene lamps, bulbs, fluorescent lamps, water-smoke lamps and colourful lamps appeared orderly. There used to be black lightning tubes adopted from film developing facilities. Thereafter, puppet performances were added with fluorescent lamps with the change of fluorescent backgrounds appearing.

Investigator: Did they have neon lights?

HP08: Yes! They did and they even have marquees because lamps were controlled by computers. Regarding puppet sizes, puppets are originally manipulated by a person only. Later on, puppets are improved and they can be controlled by two people. Following that, puppets are further improved and controlled by three people.

Investigator: Puppet sizes become larger, right?

HP08: Till now, puppet sizes have reached its biggest limitation at all possibilities. Any larger size will be of no sense. Sometimes, some difficult special stunts are required. Puppets will be manipulated by two people. One person supports puppets and the other one conducts actions as required. Whenever there are complex actions required, puppets should be manipulated by three people. Puppets on TV programs are designed with movable finger and hand joints. The moveable joints are directly controlled by the hands of puppet manipulation masters. The puppets on TV are designed with soft hands and the hands should be made of flexible latex material. However, as I always emphasise, no matter how perfect puppets are created with sophisticated actions available, all of them are nothing but icing on the cake. The emphasis should be concentrated on vocal leader because it is exactly the part to express emotions of puppets. With the development of plots, it is just available to catch the hearts of audiences. I used to conduct puppet performances and there was an old man sitting on the back seats with his eyes slightly closed. People asked him why he did not sit on the front seats. He said, 'Not necessary. If I would like to watch puppets touching together, I would rather make my grandsons do something like that. I sat here and I could listen to vocal speeches. It was good enough for me.' As you know, the old man attending my puppet performances just listened to my vocal speeches. I used to conduct puppet performances in the middle of a farming field with a factory located nearby my side. All people were working nearby my performance place and there was no audience found. I did not install any stage and I just conduct my performances on the empty land. After people finished their jobs, they came back to tell me, 'My performances were more exciting than radio station programs.' They listened to my puppet performances at work. That was a one-day performance merely. However, my puppet performances were prolonged two more days requested by the workers of the adjoining factory. When Hand Puppetry was at their popularity climax, it was also a high time for outdoor-stage puppet performances. Every one patterned after the stunts and backgrounds of TV puppet performances. Therefore, it was a high time with the best effort made by all outdoor-stage puppet troupes. However, the climax declined later. There used to be a period when TTV introduced Japanese wrestling programs.

HP08: At that time, programs started from 8.00 or 9.00 pm, and half of original puppet

audiences turned to wrestling programs.

Investigator: Did such a situation lasting for a year?

HP08: Yes! It lasted for nearly a year. Later on, wrestling programs were forbidden because programs were too violent and bloody. At this moment, audiences start to turn their attention to puppet performances. During the period with wrestling programs available, puppet troupe still did their best in performances. When they sensed wrestling programs joining the competitions, there were more stunts added in performances such as archery stunts. Movie fever followed after wrestling. In the past, there was no civil TV station available. There were only 3 governmental TV stations. Therefore, a term of the 4th TV station started from that time on. Whenever there was a movie not finishing its primary release shows, audiences could enjoy the latest release from the programs at the 4th TV station. Therefore, movie audiences were dismissed slowly. In the past, the 4th TV station could broadcast whatever programs requested by customers. Additionally, numerous videos were pirated versions. They had some latest movies prior to public performances available on cinema theatres. They could always get latest movies not yet released locally. For example, whenever there was any movie previously released in Hong Kong, they started to broadcast the movie prior to public performances locally. Till the movie was arranged for local broadcasting schedules, we had watched the movie already. At that time, such a situation really caused bad influence on some cinema theatres. Therefore, almost every cinema theatre faced bankruptcy. During the period, outdoor-stage puppet performances were also badly affected. Furthermore, there was no copyright issues for outdoor-broadcasting movies, the rental was very low, just few hundred NTDs only. However, when the fever of puppet performances declined, the business climate was quite harsh. Actually, most puppet troupes were quite stupid to dig their own graves and they should be mainly responsible for their own extinction. For example, when I was a puppet apprentice I used to reject the invitation for broadcasting movie during the climax period of movie fever. I insisted on my own principles. I spent numerous years learning puppet performances. If I turn to the business of movie broadcasting, all my effort would be in vain. Sometimes customers requested movies instead of puppet performances. Why outdoor-broadcasting movies took the feverish stages? It could attribute to the puppet troupes themselves. It was just a moment when most cinema theatres faced their bankruptcy. Therefore, there were numerous people available for outdoor-broadcasting movies with some old movies played outdoors. Seeing theatre movies was payable, but outdoor movies were free with some fresh experience available. If there was no outdoor-broadcasting movie, there would be at least half audiences turning back to puppet performances. Reversely, fans of outdoor-broadcasting movies were many

more than those of puppet and Taiwanese Opera performances.

Investigator: Local films were prevalent originally, but they declined gradually. Should such a situation be attributed to outdoor-broadcasting movies forced by cinema theatre bankruptcies?

HP08: It was mainly attributed to the internal competitions of puppet troupes. Competition losers turned to outdoor-broadcasting movies and it just started a vicious circle eventually. Later, there were numerous cinema theatres under bankruptcy. Some jobless movie projectionists were forced to broadcast movies in front of temples. In the past, there was no temples broadcasting movies and that was unacceptable. In the past, it was an agricultural society in Taiwan. The bustling scenes would always last midnight to make the atmosphere more delightful. If movies were played outdoors, audiences were quiet. There was just a white curtain with movies to be played and there was nothing left after ending. Actually, people from puppet troupes introduced outdoor-broadcasting movies. When outdoor-broadcasting movies took the feverish stages, outdoor-stage puppet performances started their competitions against outdoor movies. There used to be a period for puppet performances using lottery to attract audiences.

Investigator: It means a kind of cajolement, right?

HP08: In the past, I would be admired with flags or applause with some admiring texts from my audiences or clients whenever I conducted excellent performances.

Investigator: Have you been presented with honourable boards or flags?

HP08: Yes! I used to receive numerous stuffs like that, but I threw them away already. Excellent performances were also rewarded with money. At that time, NTD 100 was quite an amount. With commodity prices rising, I used to be rewarded with NTD 2,000 or 3,000. In the past, we were rewarded because of our excellent puppet performances. But now, reversely, audiences are rewarded. Don't you think it is quite a sad situation?

Investigator: There would be mixed and confused feelings in your mind, right?

HP08: Yes! I am very frustrated. However, I still insist on my own principles. If puppet performances cause such a sad situation, I would rather stop my puppet performances. I am such a man. Because of the impact of outdoor-broadcasting movies, people of puppet performances start catering to audiences. The value of lottery prizes is never beyond NTD 100. Do you think audiences really come for such lottery prizes? It is quite a sad thing. However, there is another impact appearing. Karaoke started to take the feverish stages due to the influence from outdoor-broadcasting movies.

Investigator: Was there any stripping shows?

HP08: Stripping shows came later than that. Singing performances came after the fever of movies. From the beginning, customers were invited for singing performances and the

performances of professional singers came later.

Investigator: It was about in the 1990s, right?

HP08: Yes! There were more and more professional singers joining the competition and their rivals were stripping shows. Additionally, steel tube dances were also invited for performances.

Investigator: Spicier than usual, right?

HP08: Yes! Sometimes, solo stripping shows really made girls wear nothing at all. Late on, e-show vans started to prevail. During such a period, puppet performances experienced the harsh time. In the past, the vocal speeches for our puppet performances should be accompanied with a dub and a puppet manipulation master on sites. However, later performances just manipulated puppets. Such puppet could be conducted by any inexperienced person. If the records were not made by professional puppet troupes, how could laymen conduct such puppet performances? This is exactly the vicious result made by puppet. Because there were few occasions available for puppet performances, clients just paid lower prices to make them conduct tape-playing puppet performances and then any foolish deeds would be possible. Whenever tape-playing puppet performances were conducted, vocal leader started to feel lazy and the performance quality naturally became worse. Originally, the performance pay was NTD 10,000, but the pay would be lower because of tape-playing puppet performances. Clients started to notice the lower cost with originally higher pay cost for three or four people decreased to a person only for tape-playing puppet performances. When clients started to request pay discounts and the performance pay became lower naturally. It could be clearly seen performance quality became worse all the way. If there was no tape-playing puppet performance available at that time, there should be some breathing space available. Once tape-playing puppet were available for, any inexperienced person even a roadside vendor could conduct puppet performances. During the period, it was also a feverish time for coral gambling. Because of prosperous economical environment, there were numerous gratitude performances available for small and large temples. Laymen could spend about NTD 10,000 to team up a troupe with some puppets, a amplifier, a tape and a background at the cost of NTD 10,000 or 20,000. If so, the performances were available. At that time, the number of puppet was increased. However, after coral gambling fever declined, those laymen started to compete with other puppet troupes. There would be a throat-cutting price competition and other puppet troupes were forced to quit their performances. There used to be a guava vendor turned to conduct puppet performances with the performance pay half of our normal price levels. To his mind, puppet performances meant a highly profitable business. They used to experience

lower profit business in selling guavas. He supposed half of normal price levels would be profitable and he could further give 40% discount available. Such a situation made lower performance pay all the way.

Investigator: There was no price-down space anymore.

HP08: Totally no space. In the past, the pay for every performance was NTD 600 or 800 and I could earn 50 to 60 net profit. Such a profit was an amount close to one third of a north worker pay. If there were bonus and rewards available, it was quite easy for me to earn NTD 70 or 80. My father used to be a formal government staff and his month pay was NTD 200 more only. Till the time when I served my military service, his monthly pay was NTD 210 only. For any vicious competitions and harmful results with harsh impact, puppet troupes should take half of the responsibility themselves. I was frequently invited by my friend to take recording of puppet performances. I had insisted on my stance for numerous years to reject his invitation. Later, I was forced by him for recording. After recording was done, when I left the recording studio, I found my new motorcycle was stolen. It seems I was punished by God, right? I heard the record having good sales performances. When he invited me for another recording, I rejected. I have all kinds of recording equipment in hand. There are lots of people expecting me to make another record, but I reject and there is no more another record. Finally, outdoor-broadcasting movies, Karaoke and steel tube dances had disappeared. I don't know why puppet troupes cannot survive and continue their effort. If puppet troupes insisted on surviving at that time and left negative influence behind, puppet troupes would never face such an awful situation. Therefore, puppet troupes were negatively affected by records the mostly. However, Hand Puppetry is featured with inherent advantages. If Hand Puppetry can capture some fixed audiences, there will be no worry about audience population. Cultural heritage will be passed down generation by generation. Young fans aspiring puppet performances would be something like their eagerness to TV Hand Puppetry. Furthermore, some fan associations and print magazines can be established. Such a fever means the success in marketing. Puppet operas promoted in such a marketing way is combined with both delight and worry. It exactly means resource monopoly. One could be full and the other one is starved to death. Moreover, young men are all brain-washed. Whenever they watch outdoor-stage puppet performances, they will certainly feel bored. The second reason is because young men know little about Taiwanese. Subtitles are available for TV Hand Puppetry, but there is no subtitle available for outdoor-stage Hand Puppetry. Why subtitles are required for watching Hand Puppetry? It is quite a sad thing. In the past, everyone knew well about Hand Puppetry even no subtitles available, but why subtitles are required for watching Hand Puppetry nowhere? Therefore, there is a gap

between young men and outdoor-stage puppet performances. Young men have no idea of some basic things. For example, in the past, there are clothes with 5 different colours flying in gold light Hand Puppetry wherein every colour symbolised its own meaning.

Investigator: It could be known by somebody who is really interested and proactively search for some relevant information.

HP08: Yes! I feel it is required to re-educate young men the way how to watch Hand Puppetry. Whenever I deliver lectureship, I always teach students some concepts. Whenever we watch Hand Puppetry, we frequently focus on vocal speeches and the performances made by puppet manipulation masters. If you always keep watching subtitles, it is quite a negative burden. In the past, we only focused on vocal speeches only. However, modern puppet performances are featured with too many animations and stunts. The flashing speed of every frame is very fast. Such puppet performances act just like animations merely.

Investigator: Something feasibly created by computer 3D techniques is not required for puppet playing, right?

HP08: Yes! It is unnecessary for the Pili Puppet Troupe to manipulate puppets so hard and computer animations can make everything OK. I mean such performances just act like animations. However, students of fan associations felt angry at my saying. I said, 'Otherwise, you can ask the Pili Puppet Troupe to conduct outdoor-stage puppet performances, you can take a close look at whether the TV effects can be well demonstrated. Outdoor-stage puppet performances are never available for repeating after NG. Watching outdoor-stage can make audiences have personal on-site experience. However, TV puppet performances are unavoidable for audiences with the same on-site experience. The angry student also made me uncomfortable. I stopped my teaching from the following week on because the student expressed no respect to me. If I criticise TV Hand Puppetry is not authentic art, I can be criticised by others. Anyway, what I say is true. Why are numerous young fans but fewer old fans for the Pili Puppet Troupe? First, it is because the eyes of old men cannot bear such dazzling lighting effects. Second, their vocal speeches cannot be recognised easily. Otherwise, you can have a test with subtitles covered and listen to what they are talking about. However, in the earlier period, the puppet performances conducted by Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang never used subtitles.

Investigator: Is it because of less authentic Taiwanese accents for vocal leader?

HP08: It is because their accents are purposefully created and they also use voice-changers speaking classical speeches with some unpopular phrases. As you can see, the role names of his puppet performances are rarely used in our daily life, right? If subtitles

are removed, audiences cannot understand what they are talking about. For example, every word Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang said was clear enough. Therefore, if a vocal leader could not make the audiences understand, the performance was a failure.

Investigator: I can have a test with subtitles removed after I back home.

HP08: Yes! There used to be a wonderful phenomenon in the Fu-Le Theatre. When puppet performances are conducted on stages, there were a front row of audiences carefully listening to Hand Puppetry. In the past, ventilation windows are designed with seams available for air ventilation; you could watch puppet performances just placing a mirror into the seams. Audiences could watch puppets and listen to vocal speeches. As such, they really understood what about puppet performances. If vocal speeches of puppet performances cannot be clearly heard by audiences, why it is necessary for superficially watching puppet performances merely? In the past, the performance pays of puppet troupes were divided into some parts allocated for a vocal leader, a drummer, gong players, string players and wind instrument players. Every wind instrument player was counted for the allocation of performance pays. Additionally, lighting engineer, a singer and an assistant were also counted. For example, there are two troupe members in charge of background and puppet arrangement, namely the basic performance cost for the troupe head to be paid. Taking Taipei for example, the division percentage is higher. In southern Taiwan, troupe members in charge of background and puppet arrangement are paid by two parts from total performance pays allocated for 8 troupe members. The vocal leader takes 2 parts. Totally, there have been 4 parts allocated. Including a lighting engineer, there have been 5 parts allocated. Plus a singer, there are 6 parts allocated. If a drum player, a string player, a gong player, and wind instrument player are counted in, there are totally 10 parts to be allocated. In the past, most props or Hand Puppetry stuffs were transported by bikes and there was no truck before. The biker was usually paid with tips but no remuneration allocated from performance pays. Therefore, troupe performances were helped by everybody. The meal fees should be subtracted previously. For example, a performance pay amounting to NTD 600 should be previously subtracted from NTD 50 of meal fees with NTD 550 left. Furthermore, firework fees should be subtracted previously also. If performance cases were negotiated and introduced by a team chief, 10% of performance pays should be allocated to him as the commission, namely NTD 60. The leftover amount was NTD 540 merely. By previously subtracting other expenditures, the leftover amount was further divided into 10 and a half parts. Usually, everyone could be allocated with NTD 40 or 50. If the vocal leader had two apprentices, these two apprentices could be allocated with performance pays. If they were paid, the parts should be directly allocated from the part of their master.



Investigator: It means bonus sharing, right?

HP08: It was not bonus sharing but directly allocated from the part of their master. If I was also allocated with my part from performance pays, there would be no leftover amount allocated to share with apprentices.

Investigator: How about the pay sources for apprentices?

HP08: Meal and dwelling fees of apprentices should depend on their master. The master would give apprentices pocket moneys. Additionally, apprentices could be rewarded from red envelope money. The amount of red envelope money in the past was about NTD 10. If the amount was larger, that would be NTD 20. Such red envelope money was rewarded to everybody no special separation in positions or ages. If there were 10 people counted. The red envelope amount of NTD 20 could be shared with 10 people and everybody was allocated with NTD 2. If masters performed especially excellent, they could be further rewarded with extra money. If the amount of extra reward money was NTD 100, everybody could be allocated with NTD 10. That was exactly the pay resources of apprentices, namely daily life allowances and pocket money. If there was no such amount available, apprentices expected allowances from their master. If masters were more generous, apprentices would be rewarded with few NTDs every day. For example, when I was an apprentice, I received nearly NTD 10 every week. In the past, the maximum monthly pay of my master was about NTD 300.

Investigator: About NTD 70 to 80 a weeks.

HP08: In the 1960s when I was still an apprentice, I was economically supported from my own family. At that time, my family lived a well-off life and they would send me money. When I wanted to be a puppet apprentice, my father rejected me. I was allowed by my mother secretly. I frequently wrote letters to my mother. She would visit me and gave me some pocket money.

Investigator: Were you on Hu-Wei at that time?

HP08: No! I travelled around the island.

Investigator: Did you frequently write letters to your family?

HP08: At that time, I never travelled far away from my home before. I was just a kid and it was a hard life to live with my puppet troupe members in a strange city.

Investigator: I know that and I also travel outside alone.

HP08: Sometimes, I got along well with my troupe members. As you know, some senior troupe members frequently bullied rookies before. However, my master was very generous to me. When I became mature, I used to conduct puppet performances at some other puppet troupes. It meant experience accumulation. Most of our puppet skills were taught by backstage staffs. Masters were always busy in puppet performances and they had no time to teach apprentices.

Investigator: Is it because masters were vocal leader and they were badly busy?

HP08: It was because masters had to spend their best effort thinking about new programs for performances. They actually had no time for teaching. If you were a rookie apprentices, you had to clean everything in the puppet troupe and you were always under the command of senior members. Thereafter, if there was any new comer joining, the new comer would be treated the same as you were before.

Investigator: Did you have to treat and call your senior members as elder brothers?

HP08: No! At that time, we directly call the name of everybody. If more polite, they would be called 'Elder Brother'. Actually, it was very difficult to give adequate titles for them because we always called our master 'Big Brother' and it was impossible for us to call our senior members 'Big Brother'. Our master was just like our father. However, my master wanted us to call him 'Big Brother' only and he never made us call him 'Father'. Therefore, we called our master 'Big Brother'. If we called other senior members 'Elder Brother', the relationship in our puppet troupe seemed to be messy and there was no ethics existing. When I was an apprentice, I had to know some taboos. For example, we worshipped the Lord Xiqin and Taiwanese Opera troupes worshipped the Tian-Du Marshal. These were the matter we had to keep in mind firmly.

Investigator: Do you mean your Patron Deity, right?

HP08: There are some sayings about 'learning something without a teacher'. However, I never think so. To my mind, everybody should have his own enlightenment teacher and this one is exactly the first thing or person to make you learn something. Such a person or thing is exactly your master. You will never make what you are now if you did not start through the person or the thing, right? There used to be a kind of Hand Puppetry called Luo-Di-Sao without shelters established.

Investigator: If so, how did they conduct puppet performances?

HP08: They just conducted performances everywhere at will. There were also simple backgrounds available.

Investigator: What was the age?

HP08: It was about in the period from the 1950s to the 1960s and such Hand Puppetry still could be seen. Some of them were medicine vendors. In the past, there used to be some Luodisao Taiwanese Opera prevailing in Langyang regions. They didn't wear opera costumes and they just wear daily-life clothing and hats to conduct opera performances even carrying a sweeper. For Luodisao Hand Puppetry, they were meant for medicine promotion such as those curing belly and stomachs, along with powder.

Investigator: There has been no apprentice to learn your performance skills with ardent effort, right?

HP08: My purpose is to spread cultural seeds at schools from elementary, junior high to high schools. It is available for these students to promote Hand Puppetry in future. I have taught numerous students and I say to them, 'Learning Hand Puppetry doesn't mean you have to conduct puppet performances someday. However, it is available to sharpen your own responsive capabilities. At least, it is available to appease your nervous emotions on stages. Furthermore, you spend long time speaking Chinese. It is a good chance for you to learn Taiwanese.' I have taught Hand Puppetry in numerous schools and I find language impediment always happens to cultural transmission.

Investigator: Is there any outlander?

HP08: Yes! There are also some Hakka people.

Investigator: You are now focusing effort on making puppet hats. Do you have any plan for cultural transmission in future?

HP08: There are numerous apprentices and masters working with me. I just do my best till the moment I can't do this job anymore. If so, my job will be passed down to them.

Investigator: Are these apprentices from opera troupes?

HP08: I have little idea about opera troupes. However, there have been some ones finishing their own learning. I was also invited by governmental agencies for instruction. However, it is never a job easily learnt in a short time. Later on, you can take look around of my studio and the studio is messy because we are hurrying to catch the schedules.

Investigator: Do you make these for your own troupes or other troupes?

HP08: These have been sold to other troupes. I am nearly blind with my hard-working effort on theses.

Investigator: How long will it take to finish a puppet hat?

HP08: I didn't measure the time before. Anyway, it about takes half a day to finish a puppet hat. My skills are developed totally on my own and I have no teachers.

Investigator: Do you invent by yourself?

HP08: Yes! It's true. I used to buy puppet hats from others but they broke the deal without giving me the puppet hats after they received my down payment. Therefore, I decided to make and design puppet hats by myself. From the beginning, the puppet hats I made were ugly. However, the quality started be improved gradually. Those puppet hats were used for my own troupe and later on my puppet hats were sold to others. At the very beginning, I did it just for my own interest. Later, it becomes my full-time job. At present, I spend all my effort making puppet hats and I have no more effort spent on Hand Puppetry performances.

Investigator: When did you start to make puppet hats?

HP08: In 1982. I have done this job for a long time. In the past, the business was good, but

Hand Puppetry declined later because of tape-playing operas prevalent. At that time, puppet hats had poor quality. Sometimes, there were hats worn by real men used for Hand Puppetry props. In the past, I received at least 100 hats of booking orders every month. On the average, there were dozens of puppet hats previously booked by other troupes.

Investigator: If so, you had to make 3 or 4 puppet hats every day, right?

HP08: For a Hand Puppetry troupe, it booked at least 20-30 puppet hats. Taking Hand Puppetry troupes for example, half of them buy puppet hats from me.

Investigator: Do you have any plan for the successors of skill transmission?

HP08: I do have some successors of skill transmission.

Investigator: How old is he?

HP08: He ages twenties about.

Investigator: He is a young man.

HP08: He ages twenties and he is a Christian. As we know, Christians are usually less concerned with such a skill. However, I find he is highly interested in this skill.

Investigator: If there is worship ceremony for patron deity, will he carry incenses for worship?

HP08: No! I never force him to do so. I used to have an employee. He is a Catholic. He says he allowed carrying incenses. I did not know he is a Catholic. When we started our puppet performances and prepared for the worship performances for patron deity, he said he is a Catholic and he is allowed to carry incenses, but burning golden paper money is not allowed. Therefore, I did not force him to do so. Speaking of religions, never worship too stubbornly or act with too much blind faith because religions mean the faith of wisdom.

Investigator: There is a term called intangible cultural heritages. Do you have any idea to share your understanding about intangible cultural heritages?

HP08: Except outside cities and counties, in Kaohsiung, I am the only one in this professional field. Some of my trade partners have quitted and some have faded away. Supposedly, there have been quite few knowing much about the ecology of indoor-stage and outdoor-stage Hand Puppetry. Additionally, I do know some about Taiwanese Opera. However, the ecology of Taiwanese Opera is quite different from that of Hand Puppetry. I just share all I know, but I cannot speak all out. If I really fade away, there is no one sharing something like this. I have been always promoting Hand Puppetry and I am really exhausted. We were invited without adequate politeness in the past.

Investigator: Well!

HP08: I am now teaching at schools and they call me 'Master'. It means the respect to me and what I want is respect. I desire nothing anymore. I am a performance artist. Respecting my own career means respecting myself. I also lobby some troupes for refined

performance quality available. In the past, I promoted Hand Puppetry on Kaohsiung City. I took any possible participating opportunities to join governmental activities and I also hosted several activities. My fame is probably because of my past effort. Except having power and power, ordinary men should never be too famous. A famous without money and power will probably experience a hard life ahead. However, my puppet promoting effort is never meant for my own favour. When I was conducting public performances, I did not invite audiences to see me but appreciate Hand Puppetry and Taiwanese Opera. Why did I spend such stupid effort so busily? I did not earn much money, but I simply zealously promoted Hand Puppetry. Sometimes, I felt quite frustrated. I would rather see children's innocent reactions at schools. For example, I used to conduct puppet performances at some deaf schools and special schools. Students frequently wrote me a thank-you note. I do feel highly very fantastic. Actually, there is no favourable substantial return for my promoting effort. However, I am almost fed up with tough bitterness. In the past, most performances were conducted to play gods for worship. We worshiped a god at most such as the birthday of the Third Prince. In the past, the performance shelters had to be dismantled when performances were finished. Dismantling performance shelters was also a formal worship ceremony because of ground gods. Before conducting a puppet performance, it is required to construct the performance shelters previously. Identically, it is required for an earth-breaking ceremony. Like constructing a house, before construction, you have to negotiate harmoniously with ground gods; otherwise, you will offend the earth gods. I am an irreligious person. However, I would rather believe the existence of God. After construction is finished, it is still required for worship ceremonies. If you want to be more serious, a large worship ceremony to all ground gods is necessary.

HP08: There are numerous rules well know by older generations have been less known by younger generations. If numerous stuffs of these can be passed down, it is impossible our opera culture vanishes so fast.

**Participant: HP09**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Puppeteer**

**Time: 14.30-14.50, 1<sup>st</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Small park**

Investigator: You should be a girl at 20s, right?

HP09: I am 33.

Investigator: Currently, young men like watching modern puppets and the puppet troupe is your family business. Are you planning for transmission?

HP09: Perhaps, but the business will decline eventually. It is because my father used to teach puppets at school.

Investigator: At school, right?

HP09: At present, he doesn't teach puppets anymore. Students stop their learning after graduating from elementary school. After graduating from elementary school, they go for advance study and never learn puppets again.

Investigator: Aside from you, is there any younger troupe member?

HP09: No! I am the youngest one and I have an elder brother.

Investigator: Does your elder brother also join the performances?

HP09: Yes! He does.

Investigator: Is there anyone learning puppet manipulation or verbal lines from you?

HP09: We don't teach external students something like these.

Investigator: Do you spend more effort on your own business or puppet performances?

HP09: I would like to take good care of them both. However, living is more important. If we want to make living by playing puppets, it is impossible to have a better-off life. I inherit puppet performances from my father and we never make them decline. Anyway, we will keep on our transmission.

Investigator: If there is no one to inherit you, is there any cultural gap existing?

HP09: I do not take this into my long consideration yet. It depends on whoever takes interest in learning puppets. If there is no one interested, all effort will be in vain.

Investigator: Therefore, all troupe staffs are your family members, right?

HP09: Yes! They are all my family members.

Investigator: Do you often make tape-playing to replace vocal leader?

HP09: It depends on actual performance occasions. If the occasion is small, we often conduct tape-playing puppet performances. Yes! If we conduct public performances, we will arrange on-site verbal lines.

Investigator: Have there been any larger performances recently?

HP09: No recently. It is because we have no performance application approved.

Investigator: Do you apply for governmental sponsorship?

HP09: We submit fewer applications currently.

Investigator: Is it unnecessary or are there some difficulties existing?

HP09: I do know if it is convenient to detail the reasons. Actually, because there are some stories behind the scene, we don't apply anymore. We don't like abnormal diplomacy.

Investigator: In understand. So, you feel disappointed, right?

HP09: Yes! We feel very disappointed. We mutually know each other in the same trade and they can always reveal some messages. Because they have some interpersonal relationships, it is just available for them to pass applications. So, I feel things go abnormally worse. We quit the applications for governmental sponsorship and receive inviting cases from civil organisations.

Investigator: When did your father teach puppets at the Hang-Ming Elementary School?

HP09: My father doesn't teach anymore. He had taught there for 4 to 5 years.

Investigator: Why did he stop teaching there?

HP09: Budget deficiency.

Investigator: Had he been invited by other elementary schools?

HP09: He was invited by the Fong-Ling Elementary School, but he didn't teach puppets there?

Investigator: Too tired, right?

HP09: Our puppet troupe also employs puppet manipulating masters and these masters are sent to teach puppets at elementary schools.

Investigator: Is your father still hosting the job of vocal leader if larger public performances are conducted?

HP09: Currently, my elder brother implements this jobs.

Investigator: What about you?

HP09: My part mostly focuses on puppet manipulating.

Investigator: Do you mostly play modern puppets?

HP09: We play both modern and traditional puppet performances. Most public performances take 2 hours and the plot will be more compact and lively.

Investigator: Who writes scripts?

HP09: Everyone joins the writing.

Investigator: Join together?

HP09: Yes! We discuss together.

Investigator: You should have a writing host, right?

HP09: My father.

Investigator: Are your father here?

HP09: He is in Tianliao now. We conduct performances at two places today.

Investigator: Did you just rush here from another place?

HP09: No! I always stay here today.

Investigator: Is another performance occasion larger?

HP09: Yes! The performances have been conducted for 17 days.

Investigator: Is another performance conducted in a tape-playing or vocal way?

HP09: Another performance is also a recording performance. Whenever we are invited, live vocal performances are also available. It depends on prices.

Investigator: On the average, how many performance occasions a month can you have?

HP09: There is no exact number of performance occasions because there will numerous occasions available during busy seasons, but during free seasons close to Chinese lunar new years, there were few birthdays of gods naturally with fewer performances available.

Investigator: So, during the birthdays of gods, you have many more performance occasions available, right?

HP09: Yes!

Investigator: Mainly because of the birthdays of gods, right?

HP09: Actually, there were numerous gods in folk religions.

Investigator: We are always available for temple invitation from whatever birthdays of gods.

HP09: Yes! We have engaged in this business for a long time with some fixed customer resources.

Investigator: Aside from the invitations from temples, have you been invited by Christian churches?

HP09: No! Christian churches never touch something like this.

Investigator: What about your suggestions to cultural policies, or do you find any problem?

HP09: Firstly, except the Pili Puppet Troupe because of their creative performances beyond traditions, in our professional perspective, something like that is never worthy of conservation. All of their performances are shown through cameras, montages, animations, lighting and special effects. However, if they are invited for outdoor-stage performances, things will be sheer different. Why the Pili are afraid of receiving invitations for outdoor-stage performances? They always conduct performances with recordings already set and then the program is further accompanied with puppet manipulation. Our outdoor-stage is unavailable to stop at any NG setting and every detail of our performances is nakedly shown on site. This is the reason why puppets grow bigger in size. In the period of indoor-stage performances, the audience at front seats can see puppets, but for the audience at back seats, it is unavailable. Therefore, the size of puppets grows bigger. Earlier puppet performances were divided into



textual occasions and martial occasions. There was a singer standing by the side. In earlier years, we had no records and the singer sometimes helped say some verbal lines such as plots required for female vocals. Every vocal leading host was vested with except vocal performance skills. However, to make the audience something fresh, a female vocal played the young female leading role. Both vocals became dialog lines. Such puppet performances had no scripts previously prepared. Earlier performances were improvised without previously arranged scripts and just memorizing verbal lines for performances like now. There was no script previously prepared for earlier puppet performances. Two vocals should pair with excellent common understanding. Whenever either was speaking, the other one should follow the speaking seamlessly. It is a kind of art taste. Sometimes, two vocals would also conduct philandering plots. It is because earlier performances focused on the performances of 3 kinds of roles, namely young female leading roles, young male leading roles and clowns. Two of the said 3 roles could pair with some humorous lines available. All spoken lines were improvised by spot reaction. Any verbal speaking would be followed by adequate lines with quick wisdom.

Investigator: Were they all on-spot performances but no scripts previously prepared?

HP09: There was totally no script ready. Puppet performances at that time were just like quick wisdom shows with every improvised line one after another fluently. For example, if we dialog, you can question me and I give the answer. There were singers arranged for earlier puppet performances and the status of singers was also very important. Singers had to be good at signing. Any leading host for earlier puppet performances should be vested with 5 conditions, namely drumming, stringing, blowing, singing and speaking.

Investigator: What about the meaning of stringing?

HP09: Drumming means playing drums. Stringing means playing stringing musical instruments. Blowing means playing some musical instruments like trumpets. Speaking means saying verbal lines and singing means tune signing. Sometimes, our puppet performances are conducted like Chinese operas. However, there is an additional Beiguan music for puppet performances only. Puppet performances are accompanied with songs and sometimes the vocal leading has to sing some songs. If a performer is vested with the said conditions, he is nearly an opera champion.

**Participant: HP10**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Participant: HP11**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Head of Troupe**

**Time: 21.00-01.00, 5<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Residence of participant**

HP11: If you are determined to do cultural transmission, you must teach students prudently; otherwise, some problems will be arisen.

HP10: A lot of troupes have the same philosophy as mine. However, the actual operation is another different matter.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: They will choose to give up ultimately.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: If you don't have much patience, how can you support the troupe so long. In the past 15 years, I led a hard life due to livelihood and dignity.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: Sometimes, customers invited my performance at a very low price, NTD 5,000 or 3,000. I was very angry. However, I had no choice but be patient. Once my performance was conducted, I had to be serious with all effort spent to make gods pleased.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: I have more faith in God but less faith in the contests.

HP11: I think that the winners should stop their participation with some chances allowed for newcomers.

HP10: Some people have always been joining the contests and they are eager to earn bonus.

HP11: Not really. If you are a contest winner, it is also an affirmation with more performance chances available.

HP10: I don't oppose contests, but the ultimate goals seem deviated. I think it is quite a pity. A contest champion can go for four performances, but no governmental departments care about those without winning contests. The competent authorities should express their concern and support them.

HP11: Encouragement is absolutely required.

Investigator: You said that official administrators visited you before. What do you think?

HP10: He was a section chief, he might agree with my philosophy, but we both communicate

in a superficially social manner. I am not really good at such a social occasion. Therefore, to my mind, I am less confident in this. I tell you one thing. Speaking of information review, a small troupe like ours has no resources. They want performance CD for review, but we have no money to produce a film about 15 minutes with tools and equipment well prepared.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: Additionally, to apply for grants, it is required for outstanding achievements in performance. I didn't participate in contests before. How can I submit any merits or even championship? As I said, have you never prepared a set of equipment when you are planning to join contests? That needs money. Do you want me to borrow money from usurious loan-lender? Whenever I conduct a performance, I have to raise money from people and receive peer support. Of course, it is not my personal request but their initiative aid.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: My dad is not rich, nor is this troupe left by him. I run this troupe is because I am interested.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: Never mention the great job like flourishing culture, I humbly hope I can keep myself not destroyed. But I have always adhered to some principles and I hope my performance is never like craps.

Investigator: Sure!

HP10: Some troupes pack themselves well when applying for funding, but it is not the case as usual.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: However, results show they won the budget from applications. Usually, they conduct sloppy performances in front of the temples without formal stages. All the performance is conducted on a pick-up about. Sometimes, you can find their puppets are dirty and some puppets even have no nose. Therefore, governmental review should be implemented by investigating secretly.

HP11: There used to be a person winning the Heritage Award, but I didn't find his cultural transmission. It is really an exaggerated fact. And even a strip girl troupe used to win the Heritage Award. I feel very sad about this.

HP10: If I am endowed with the Heritage Award, I really cannot afford it. I do promote my art in schools, but I am not entitled a "teacher" as students call me.

Investigator: Teacher. You are too modest.

HP10: Hey. So, I tell you.

Investigator: A teacher is exactly the one instructing or sharing with professional stuffs.

HP10: There are still numerous masters better than I. However, I don't take the way of heterodoxy and I don't like that. Government emphasizing cultural work is really a good thing but be sure to make good use of budget.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: I always do my utmost and I express great respect for my client and gods. Being a performer is never confined to puppet manipulation or oral speaking art only. What it counts is behaviour. So those appreciating me prefer to invite my performance at a better price. Some like my skills, but others like my attitude. We are what we. People engaging in this work get poor easily and even cannot afford a pack of cigarette. It is nothing concerned with money, but my fighting spirit has been consumed.

Investigator: What do you think?

HP10: It is easy! I hope my son achieves himself predominantly. Our development space is very limited.

HP11: It is mainly because of no budget.

HP10: I used to help others and give them advices sometimes, finally resulting in complaints.

HP11: Sure! Therefore, we keep our mouth shut because people don't accept our advice.

Investigator: Do you feel is it possible to merge puppet troupes?

HP10: It is possible. This happened in ancient time not to mention now.

HP11: There used to be lots of cases like this.

HP10: It's possible, but it should be impossible for my troupe because people can never get along with me well and I am too eager for perfection.

Investigator: Do I know recording hand puppetry troupes?

HP10: We are now running a recording hand puppetry troupe. It's a prevalent trend.

HP11: It is involved with prices.

HP10: Why I do so is because of the environment.

HP11: It is because the cost of our live performance is very high.

HP10: Some governmental departments inspect and support some promising troupes never corresponding to the reality. However, some unregistered troupes actually spare no effort in this art.

HP10: However, I don't envy the troupes with governmental support. I just hope they can do things right.

HP11: A troupe with governmental support means winning the public affirmation. It is the honour required to be cherished and further improved.

Investigator: May I ask why you conduct recording performances?

HP11: Frankly, they have no money.

HP10: Yes! Tape performances are required for a vocal leader, two operating puppet masters, a gaffer and a technician of sound effect.

HP11: At least five men required.

HP10: Deficient cost cannot afford so many men except some major festivals with a better price available.

HP11: How do the tape performance troupes arise? It is because everyone wages a price war to win performance chances with tapes replacing live vocal. As such, the market is undermined and clients have been used to lower prices. It is impossible for these clients to invite performances at a higher price.

HP10: We never initially attempt to do vocal performances, but there is no market available. I am cannot act as the vocal leader and the puppet manipulator simultaneously.

HP11: Some stories are quite exciting and required for numerous roles. How do you conduct a magnificent performance with deficient manpower?

Investigator: It is an issue about the troupe scale.

HP11: The reason why his master never conducted performances since 1975 is because of quite low prices. He preferred to quit his performance. There is also another one, a winner of the best creation or screenplay.

HP10: I have followed my master so long. I do not perform well as half as my master. What I have is insistence merely; I will remain myself longer than my master.

HP11: The heritage gap exists from my father to my generation. Not to mention two thirds, my skill is confined to the superficial level when compared with the skill profoundness of my father. My performance is nothing but a shame. If I dare show off, my performances have been always better than those rotten troupes. However, I cannot ruin my father's reputation. Anyway, my father enjoys his lofty fame in this field. Speaking of heritage gaps, my son is very interested in puppet performances. In fact, the child is also very talented and worthy of cultivation.

HP10: When we are manipulating the puppets, our eyes should fix on puppets and this is exactly the serious effort dedicated to our business. After my kid saw my performance, he said I am the most serious one.

Investigator: Well!

HP10: Based on the different personalities of different puppet roles, their actions are different. For example, when the Takefu role appears, there is always a jumping action.

HP11: Despite different performance styles of different schools, the excellence is discernible.

HP10: I have learned from different schools and I cultivate myself with different puppet manipulating actions from other troupes.

HP11: We have to learn the advantages of others.

HP10: So, my puppet manipulating actions are combined with those from traditional puppet shows, the golden puppet shows and TV puppetry shows.

**Participant: OA01**

**Gender: Male**

**Position: Official Administrator**

**Time: 14.00-15.30, 8<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Office of administration**

Investigator: Is the most difficult part is to proceed by observing the public procedures? Is there any other limitations caused by decision-making rankers?

OA01: To my mind, public procedures are one of the reasons, but it is not serious problem. I feel the point should be dependent on the executors themselves, including myself. It means we have to know clearly about the ultimate goals and results as we expect. Exactly! We have to make something materialised more practically because results are never as perfect as we suppose. A serious problem we are facing is we are not available to implement long-term follow-ups. Whenever we start a matter, there will be always another one intervened and the follow-up schedules are delayed. Another problem is that we have to cooperate with other implementing units through public bidding operations.

Investigator: Have governments ever arranged activities or seminars for relevant public sectors when they promote the concepts of caring intangible cultural heritages?

OA01: Yes. Like the Council of Cultural Affairs and the Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage, whenever they are hosting such activities, we also receive some messages. However, we are not available to attend the activities.

Investigator: When you are implementing public affairs, is there any clash among your colleagues, trade partners or scholars in ideas.

OA01: Actually, clashes really happened. We often host activities and invite relevant forms for attendances. If we can directly designate firms, things will proceed better because we can cooperate with excellent firms with intimate partnerships. However, we are afraid of violating the Procurement Laws. If firms are selected from bid winners, there will be some clashes happening in ideas. Sometimes we are forced by deficient budgets; firms just implement projects based on available budget amount as a businessman does. Cultural affairs cannot be operated with standardised procedures as engineering. It is naturally quite difficult to regulate these firms. For the administrative operations about the culture season, it will be alright whether they are implemented by means of bidding limitations or direct designation. Therefore, we can implement direct designations with the official approvals of the county head. With the official approvals, our implementations are actually legal in view of the Procurement Laws. However, to my mind, there are quite few governmental agents act as we do. Everybody tries their

best to avoid the aforesaid ways of bidding with limitations or direct designations. However, these are both legal. To their mind, these become terrible. Why are they afraid so much? It is because they always suppose some problems to be questioned by prosecutors. Even if there is no problem happening, there will be something required for investigations. When governmental agents face the legitimate investigations, they deserve for troubles. Therefore, they would rather implement by means of public bidding operations. If so, things are messy. As I say, such standardised operations are always available for engineering. However, for cultural art activities, the standards are difficult to delineate. Therefore, it is difficult to control quality and the quality is inferior generally.

Investigator: How do you say to cultural creativity industries? What about intangible cultural heritages? What matters are supposed to be included?

OA01: I feel it is quite a wide range for intangible cultural heritages. For my part, it means a life style led by a group of people in a specific region. There are numerous stuffs accumulated in our surroundings. However, long history is never an essential premise to make stuffs become cultural heritages. Cultural heritages also mean something very important happening at this very moment. Actually, for cultural creativity industries, we are more attentive to creativity industries. For cultural implications, this issue must be traced back to our recognitions to cultural industries. Actually, culture covers everything and it is never concerned with art only. However, there are numerous people mistaking arts or historical relics for cultural heritages. Industries have developed always and there are naturally creativities and innovations triggered.

OA01: Numerous innovations derive from design. For example, cups have been always the common utensils for our daily life from the past to now. They are designed with totally different styles or functions. There must be always some innovations and different stuffs available. To my mind, it is quite a common phenomenon. But now, everybody starts to notice this phenomenon. I suppose people in the past were busy in earning their living and they knew little about life. This is the reason we promote cultural creativity industries now. It is a period shorter than 50 years for Taiwan experience from the past cultural era to now. Actually, the development is fast and it is a short period. Now, economic has been well developed in Taiwan. We start to notice some details in our life, so cultural creativities become more important. Culture exists in life always and design does also. They exist every moment.

Investigator: For the life tastes as you say like aesthetic feeling, do you think it is a naturally-born or acquired capability? Is the most difficult part is to proceed by observing the public procedures? Is there any other limitations caused by decision-making rankers?

OA01: To my mind, public procedures are one of the reasons, but it is not serious problem. I feel the point should be dependent on the executors themselves, including myself. It means we have to know clearly about the ultimate goals and results as we expect. Exactly! We have to make something materialised more practically because results are never as perfect as we suppose. A serious problem we are facing is we are not available to implement long-term follow-ups. Whenever we start a matter, there will be always another one intervened and the follow-up schedules are delayed. Another problem is that we have to cooperate with other implementing units through public bidding operations.

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Investigator: How do you feel about cultural creativity industries? What about intangible cultural heritages? What matters do you supposed to be included?

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Investigator: For the life tastes as you say like aesthetic feeling, do you think it is a naturally-born or acquired capability?

OA01: Aesthetic feeling? If you want to be an outstanding designer, it is really required for naturally-born capabilities. However, for some basic aesthetic feelings and life tastes, they can be cultivated.

Investigator: Do you mean slow cultivation with higher frequencies of exposures?

OA01: Yes. Sometimes, it means a type of habit. I feel numerous Taiwanese lacking their own unique life tastes. As you can see, there are royal or noble families in Japan and European countries. They just lead their own life simply and their life habits become a model. They are capable of life etiquettes and stuffs available for civil people to imitate.

Investigator: What about the linkages between cultural agencies and education agencies

usually?

OA01: Actually, we have fewer horizontal linkages now. If we host activities with the subjects aiming at students, we will invite the Education Office to promote for us. The cooperation projects between the Education Ministry and the Council of Cultural Affairs seem to be started from last year or the year before last year. However, for us, the only difference is the subjects changing to students and we design some activities dedicated to students. Aside from arts and humane culture, there are some further linkages for performance arts and life arts. The activities are something like theses and they still don't jump out from the existing frames. They are just re-combinations only. Sometimes, we, including our office chief, feel helpless. The effort of few people cannot promote anything. Additionally, I feel governmental agents in Taiwan are affected by politic too much and everything is deeply concerned with politic. Actually, it doesn't mean politic interrupts everything.

Investigator: Do you mean it is nothing concerned with political parties, right?

OA01: Actually, we are deeply affected by politic. Such is a case with my own projects under scheming. I feel public sectors should create an excellent environment to become an outstanding administer. Some environment and facilities (roads and road lamps) should be well-prepared to invite artist to enter. The administration is further commissioned to civil firms. However, governmental agencies implement hurried and ill-prepared exemplary constructions just striving for political achievements. Sometimes, public sector manpower is also deficient and it is required for outsourcing. If projects are outsourced, some extra procedures are required and such procedures cannot assure of excellent firms found. I feel it is actually required to establish an outstanding market mechanism. Once the environment is well built, civil art and culture teams will be highly willing to join us.

OA01: The mistake we often made is deficient management manpower available for cultural facilitates due to deficient budgets.

Investigator: How about your suggestions to reduce such resource wasting?

OA01: To my mind, we must allocate some time to know well about the ecology of local art and culture teams. However, we never do something like this from the beginning and just execute the operations. Actually, we never spend time to entirely understand the overall ecology. Such a doing is really required for time, but governments face the stress for political achievement. I do feel it is quite pity. If there are numerous people starting to understand this point with the obstacles caused by immediate and concrete political achievement, there are still numerous items left for further improvement. With a limited amount of cultural budget, we can implement slow growth and development available. We can allow more time for promoting people to focus. It is

not packed by cultural affair agencies to beauty political achievement. What I feel interested is everybody always tries to create culture, few know the ways how to preserve if culture has been existing. It is required for more effort to highlight the already-existing culture.

Investigator: Are there some people supposing it is unavailable to survive if no new stuff added?

OA01: Obviously, as you said, culture construction seems you must overturn something and then innovate it again. Furthermore, it is reluctant for policy successors to make former projects better fearing people affirm the former one much more than the latter. As such, when they don't want to continue former policies, there must be some new projects created. We used to propose a class for traditional skill transmission discussing with the Council of Labour Affairs. However, the project applied failed finally. We don't know whether the failure is caused by weak promoting effort and fewer participants. We also start to recognise some intangible cultural heritages like preserving some folks and recording the lifelong stories of some artists. However, there are some people feel record preserving for these people still alive is not so urgent. They start from older artists firstly and make some exhibitions and activities for these old artists.

Investigator: There are numerous people supposing governments should zealously sponsor some performance teams. What about your suggestions to such sponsored performances?

OA01: Actually, such a situation really happens. However, such a passive attitude is because of some performance teams frequently receiving governmental subsidy already. Some parts of their income come from governmental subsidy and it forms a more extreme situation. However, there are some others never caring such governmental subsidy because the subsidy amount is meagre yet required for arduous preparatory effort. They would rather survive on their own effort. At present, there are two extreme situations as I say. Right! For my part, most performance teams should well exert themselves through governmental subsidy. However, it is still required more time to understand their real demands. Actually, when we interview some performance teams, we always inquire their real demands but no concrete answer reachable.

Investigator: Taking me for example, I used to interview some teams and there are also numerous experts and scholars visiting them. Somebody suggests we should make grading operations. It means the performance teams already receiving the subsidy from central governmental agencies should never be further sponsored by lower governmental agencies.

OA01: Actually, the CCA has regulated a sponsored performance team should never be

further sponsored by other governmental agencies again.

Investigator: Such a regulation has been established, right?

OA01: Yes. Such a regulation can forbid repeated sponsorships happening to any given performance team. If so, governmental subsidy will be cancelled. Otherwise, some performance teams will probably receive numerous repeated sponsorships. Any sponsorship project proposed by the CCA is always regulated with the forbidding clause of no repeated sponsorship available.

Investigator: Can I ask you a more sensitive question?

OA01: Sure!

Investigator: Just as you said, since cultural budgets are so meagre, it is very difficult to imagine there are numerous people actively striving to get some inadequate profit from so meagre budgets. However, there are really some ones having better business and politic channels and they can share a big pie from so meagre cultural budgets. Taking the said inadequate governmental channels with county halls for example, what about the ways to eradicate such black box operations happening to some inadequate profit to firms or scholars blind to the governmental officials?

OA01: Actually, regarding this part, such a situation rarely happens because we have quite meagre budgets available. Like some large projects proposed by us, taking the Candy Festival for example, when we were hosting this activity, there were several bidding cases for different exhibition houses probably pricing dozens of million NTDs. However, the bidding case with the largest amount only costs NTD 9 million at most merely. Actually, from then on, we stopped hosting a large activity like this because the scale is too large. Therefore, there are numerous expenditures burdened by civil firms. We purely burden expenditure on our own concerned with some negotiating operations for checks and money transferring. Like the Folk Art Festival, the expenditure is NTD 200 million at most wherein there were numerous cases further separated like hospitalization for visiting performance teams inclusive of most parts of boarding and traffic expenditures. Actually, there were less left. We rarely face such a question. Actually, there is no sufficient resource available for inadequate profiting.

Investigator: There is a friend asking me of a question, 'Why we cannot sponsor performance teams with regular programs just like foreign theatres?' How about your viewpoints?

OA01: Like us with promoting effort spent for cultural affairs, there are few audiences because Taiwan is a structure of domestic demand market. For foreign theatres, they are external demand markets with numerous foreign tourists available. Additionally, there are numerous Taiwanese insanely crazy for novelties and chase for superficial stuffs with little emphasis on deep cultural levels.

**Participant: OA02**

**Gender: Female**

**Position: Official Administrator**

**Time: 14.00-13.50, 17<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

**Location: Office of administration**

Investigator: The main task for me back to Taiwan is to conduct fieldwork. I firstly visited some puppet and Taiwanese Opera troupes in Taiwan. My research mainly focuses on intangible heritage and this part actually faces a critical issue for survival. For example, current traditional markets have been dwindled and troupes face their difficulty for survival. Additionally, another issue faced by these troupes is transmission. If troupes face their own difficulty for survival, they feel exhausted for transmission. Regarding transmission, current cultural policies should affect them profoundly. I believe when our governments (the public sectors) are promoting some plans or sponsoring some cultural teams, they will definitely face some difficulties. Can you share something with used?

OA02: Actually, we have deficient budgets in this part. At present, the governmental operations to preserve traditional cultures request artists or teams to register previously, and then it is just available to promote, preserve, and transmit some cultural projects. In view of current proceeding schedules, our cultural affair bureau of the Kaohsiung City Hal just conducted a general survey on traditional performance arts in 2009. The project is commissioned to Teacher Li. In 2010, we will focus on the information of general surveys to further screen some artists or cultural teams and subsequently conduct on-site interviews. We will make appraisals with some really worthy of cultural registration selected and submitted the panel for reviewer. After the review is passed, they will be officially registered as the intangible heritage of traditional performance arts at the Kaohsiung City Hall. After registration, it is just available for further promoting, recording and preserving.

Investigator: I have read some results of general surveys with some teams worthy of cultural registration or left for further appraisals. Therefore, I want to know the standards used for appraisal determinations. Especially, sometimes it is very difficult to determine the value of art. I would like to ask whether there are any appraisal items or standards when panel members are invited by the Kaohsiung City Hall.

OA02: Because we are all administrative staffs only, we have to commission the real experts as our panel members. We invite them to conduct practical surveys and witness the features of troupes in art, localization and particularity. If panel members feel they are all competent, we start to consider official registrations for such worthy artists or

troupes.

Investigator: Therefore, panel members will try to know the practical operations of these troupes, right? Or, does the review mainly focus on paper work?

OA02: If they are troupes, we conduct oral interviews and know the details about them. If they have any rehearsal, we will observe their rehearsal. If nothing available to review, we will review their past documentaries.

Investigator: Therefore, there are real some experts invited for practical on-site interviews, right?

OA02: Yes! Our official staffs in charge also accompany with these experts in the whole process. We also design a form and experts will write some recommendations based on the appraisal scoring items in this form.

Investigator: I am highly curious about whether the artists or cultural teams after appraisals are really worthy of official registrations.

OA02: About the items for preserving intangible cultural assets, the job is quite vague unavailable to quantitative.

Investigator: Is the part of intangible culture unavailable to be defined by preservation for cultural assets deviating to the range of 'folk festivals'?

OA02: Actually, intangible cultural assets are divided in traditional art and some cultural relics of folk arts, two major parts.

Investigator: Is there any rigid period of history regulated as the official qualifications for these 'intangible heritage'?

OA02: There should be such quantitative regulations. Actually, the determination is not based on ages yet years and seniority. For example, we have just registered a man named Chung-Jong Su, and he is highly proficient in puppet sculptures, just at his early 50s. However, he has 30 more years of experience in this field. He is called the Master Linbian and belongs to the artist of traditional arts. Numerous puppets of Mr Chun-Hsiung Huang, are made by him. Therefore, he is registered by the Kaohsiung City as an artist of the traditional arts. The determination is never based on ages but experience and achievement.

Investigator: As some cultural teams voice, there were always some teams with closer social relationships easily selected for official sponsorship, right?

OA02: Actually, sponsorship for cultural teams and traditional performance arts belong to two different directions. We preserve some traditional arts threatened with extinction. Regarding sponsorship for cultural teams, we mainly focus on some new rising teams with high potentials. Although they are all performance teams, both categories are featured with sheer different directions.

Investigator: I want to know how to make both sides of the governments and artists work

together for skill transmission after registered for preservation?

OA02: For our parts, we focus on some registered artists to host workshops for them. For example, we used to host workshops for traditional colour painting and artists were invited for explanation and demonstration in details. We also invite school teachers to attend workshops for experience exchanges. It is meant for germination from these teachers and they can teach students after workshops with more insightful knowledge available for students.

Investigator: I do feel this is a brilliant idea. However, it is just available to raise students' interest and there seems to be difficult for them to continue the cultural traditions after these skills are learned. About this point, do you have any viewpoint on such phenomenon?

OA02: Actually, there are numerous parts impeded by limited amount of budgets. If we have sufficient budgets, more parts can be certainly materialised. However, at present, only the Council of Cultural Affairs is capable of implementing some learning projects. They will host some relevant courses continually and invite artists for teaching. People or students with interest are allowed for further learning. Some are also sponsored by civil business organizations. In view of domestic governments, the jobs will be harder. We are only capable of hosting some activities but we cannot afford to make serious courses available. Regarding the part of colour painting courses as mentioned above, we used to host the personal wood carving exhibition of Chun-Yi Ye. He has numerous carving works with several awards won. We further integrate the effort the Kaohsiung Dai-Tian-Gong Temple to exhibit his wood carving works on Kaohsiung. Such cooperation is because Mr. Ye used to work for the temple when it was constructed. He knows well about the skills and production process of wood boards with couplets. We invited Mr. Ye to explain his works at the Dai-Tian-Gong Temple with more insightful knowledge about temple construction available for civil people.

Investigator: Deficiency in cultural budget is really a troublesome issue difficult to be solved. Do you have any concrete recommendations or ideas?

OA02: Actually, it is directed by cultural policies and governmental agents in charge just follow cultural policies. We mainly follow relevant regulations of the CCA and the laws of cultural heritage preservation. Furthermore, budget amount is also taken into our consideration. Thereafter, we gradually and slowly continue our tasks. Therefore, aside from general surveys on traditional performance troupes, we also conduct cultural promotion. In 2010, we are planning to make video records for these artists and these are the jobs implemented continually.

Investigator: Do you mean the parts of digitalisation?

OA02: Not pure digitalization exactly. We just make autobiography video records for these

artists.

Investigator: OK!

OA02: Sure! We make video records and we hope there will something valuable left-hand. We just implement plans slowly.

Investigator: Is such information accessible for the general public?

OA02: Regarding the information of general surveys, it actually belongings to internal reference sources because there is privacy information of numerous artists. Therefore, it is unavailable for the general public totally. Like some video records, we will provide some elementary schools as folk cultural teaching materials after these plans are done. However, we just start bidding operations and it is just a beginning only.

Investigator: In view of your department, is there any difficulty existing aside from budge issues?

OA02: I think it is budget applications and this is exactly the most difficult part.

Investigator: Is there any linkages between budge applications and political parties?

OA02: Actually, there is nothing concerned with political parties yet affair proportions for different counties and cities. The operations are mainly based on submitted plans with a certain percentage of budget allocations available for various counties and cities. Once plans pass the reviews, the central authority will allocate budgets based on the fixed percentages.

Investigator: Therefore, budgets are allocated with fixed percentages. It is mainly due to the issues of total bud amount not different political parties or personal identities. I found every one like talking about intangible cultural heritages and further extending to what we call curiosities creativity industries. Do you have any more in-depth understanding to share with us?

OA02: Both are actually sheer different. For intangible cultural heritages, operations mainly focus on preservation. For cultural creativity industries, we emphasise the innovative re-using for traditional stuffs. I do feel there is really something different existing.

Investigator: The intangible cultural heritages are exactly what we call living heritages like artists. If we don't make lifelong autobiography records for these artists as database, how about the consequent situations when these artists fade away but their experience and skills are transmitted none or only a half or one-third of the cultural heritages are left?

OA02: The cultural heritages extinct.

Investigator: Yes! At present, what we can do now is only available for cultural preservation, but what about cultural transmission?

OA02: In the past, there used to be an apprentice system. But now, it is very different for such an apprentice system to exist. It is unavailable for cultural transmission by using an



old way. Therefore, the transmission is only available for workshops merely or some departments of traditional arts established to take roots in schools. It is quite different from the apprentice system in the past, but it is also a way for cultural transmission.

Investigator: Just like some plans proposed in Mainland China, governmental subsidy is available for the artists registered in the lists of intangible cultural heritages.

OA02: Yes! It is the subsidy for living expenditures.

Investigator: There is no worry about daily living necessities and artists can focus on art advancement. However, there are flaws existing, right?

OA02: Yes! It is maybe due to different folk customs. I suppose our governments are limited by accounting systems. Based on local accounting systems, it will be slightly difficult to promote cultural affairs.

Investigator: You mean they should be conducted through public bidding operations, right?

OA02: Yes! You cannot conduct in a fixed way. If so, there will something about profiting civil firms happening. Actually, we aim to promote cultural affairs, but we are limited by the Procurement Laws and some relevant codes. Anyway, everything must be executed legally.

Investigator: Yes! It is very difficult. Additionally, I heard there something about the subculture of 'red envelopes'. For example, some senior panel members receive monetary kickback or 'red envelopes' from art performance teams. However, everything should be based on real evidences. If no witness, we naturally can never jump to any conclusions. However, such a saying has been circulated for a long time. Some teams would rather never apply for governmental subsidy. They don't join governmental appraisals or forum because they feel governments are slightly unfair and closed.

OA02: Actually, our main duties in such affairs mean proposing lists and inviting experts for final review. However, there is nothing about 'red envelopes' happening. Additionally, panel members start to know review situations when they are invited. There should be no chance available to request any 'red envelopes' from cultural teams. Therefore, we don't know the channels they contact because we never leak any list. Such a saying is quite strange and I suppose it to be a rumour. Most governmental staffs execute affairs legally and they rarely want ruin their life on bribing.

Investigator: Thus, the problem should never happen to public sectors or the experts invited externally.

OA02: Actually, I do feel it never happens to those experts or scholars because they start to know the real situations when they arrive at the spot, right? However, I know little about the central competent authority. For my part, there should be nothing like this happening. I suppose such a saying would be their conjectures only. It because

sponsored cultural teams often perform excellently in administrative documentations. Panel members mainly make their determinations based on written information. Incomplete written information for application submitting will naturally result in failures. I feel they have poor capabilities in written paperwork.

Investigator: Such a phenomenon is because artists of traditional performances in the past were vested with less literacy. They abound in art experience but show less literacy. They usually never know how to prepare for governmental documentations. Is there any governmental agency with some courses available to teach them how to prepare for governmental documentations?

OA02: Every year, the National Culture and Arts Foundation (FCAF) hosts such courses and have regional competent authority to notify cultural performance teams in a written form. It is because when they are applying for governmental subsidy, there is an application form. They will be told how to fill the appp1 form. After paperwork is done with such information well prepared, the applications are submitted to FCAF. Because the FCAF receives subsidy from the central competent authority, they are abundantly funded. Governments arrange some guidance activities like this.

Investigator: Some teams will question if anyone knowing well about such a paperwork process, beautiful paper proposals and stunting DVD records submitted for review will make successful applications easier.

OA02: It is really easier.

Investigator: Yes! Probably some ones in the same traditional performance field know such governmentally sponsored cultural teams never do something as their written proposals said.

OA02: Actually, such a situation will never happen because we also have an appraisal mechanism. It means once you have been governmentally sponsored, experts and scholars will watch their performances irregularly to follow up their appraisals. It does not mean there is no follow-up appraisal after sponsored. The follow-up appraisal results are available for the next sponsorship application.

Investigator: To your best knowledge, what parts are included in competent authority dealing with intangible cultural heritages?

OA02: Aside from traditional arts, there are some parts relevant to folk customs and relevant cultural arts. For example, there are some other things like Dajia Mazu Festivals and they belong to folk activities and also a part of intangible cultural heritages.

Investigator: Therefore, both parts are officially recognised by competent authority, right?

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: The recognitions for intangible cultural heritages are conducted passively. It means the attention is just paid to some officially applying cultural teams.

OA02: Yes! There two directions available now. One means the proactive surveys conducted by public sectors. The other one means being passively informed through reports. The reported cultural teams should be those not surveyed or omitted before. These cultural teams must proactively report to us and then we conduct reviews and on-site interviews.

Investigator: Are there any task phases for interviewing cultural teams?

OA02: From general survey information, we have a rough idea of them. After the second time of on-site interviews, experts will question them with open issues for deeper understanding with appraisals reachable. Finally, the registration qualifications for intangible cultural heritages will be reviewed. If they pass the initial review, three panel members are invited for on-site interviews. Therefore, our finalised determinations are never based on the recommendations from a single panel member. We will integrate the recommendations from three panel members. There are two phases mainly to determine the registration qualification.

Investigator: Assume a cultural team is selected as a superior team worthy of official registrations, the advantages of this team can be publicly open, setting an example for other cultural teamster.

OA02: Actually, it is also one the difficulties for our official registrations. Some cultural teams suppose themselves to be the best. Therefore, we have to conduct very careful official registrations and the official registrations are only available for the best ones in the said art fields. Otherwise, we would rather not conduct official registrations and pose conservative attitude.

Investigator: Posing conservative attitude?

OA02: Yes! It is because official registrations are only available for the best ones. We want the official registrations with the most excellent and senior ones without any argument arisen.

Investigator: You just mentioned some appraisal items, right?

OA02: The items are quite common, namely the features in art, localization and particularity.

Investigator: These appraisal items are not previously regulated by public sectors available for professional appraisals. All the appraisal items are regulated by the experts of panel members.

OA02: The CCA has their own form with some appraisal items listed already. When appraisals are conducted, they mainly focus on the qualifications of interviewed cultural teams. In remark column, panel experts also note down the features of interviewed cultural teams with recommendations listed not just check boxes only.

OA02: If so, based on these forms, it is still unavoidable for quantitative operations actually.

Investigator: Is it available for regional competent authority offer some recommendations to

the central competent authority?

OA02: I feel their focus should be the transmission of authentic stuffs, namely preservation degrees but not innovation.

Investigator: For example, Hand Puppetry can be divided in the traditional one and the gold-light puppetry. How can both be well appraised together?

OA02: In this aspect, I also refer to an expert. He says that in the perspective of the central competent authority, those most traditional performances with very old plots and ugly puppets are more competent for official registrations. In view of innovation, they can report for governmental sponsorship. Both of them are actually vested with sheer directions.

OA02: Innovated stuffs are more popular actually.

Investigator: Do you have any undergoing plan or project with their names available?

OA02: At present, we have no undergoing projects due to deficient budgets. Once our projects are submitted, we will definitely continue our projects, but we have no sufficient budgets now.

OA02: In view of budgets, the budgets for sponsored cultural teams mean governmental subsidy. If the said budgets are officially listed, the projects can be continued. However, we have no budget for these projects and we can do nothing for any governmental subsidy. Unless we have sufficient budgets, we usually add such an amount in budget lists.

Investigator: Are there any measures for public sectors to preserve or transmit these cultural heritages?

OA02: The central competent authority supposes they sponsor their own officially registered cultural teams. If the cultural teams are officially registered in regional competent authority, the regional governments should sponsor these cultural teams by themselves. To my knowledge, there are some officially registered artists receiving subsidy from central competent authority, about NTD 1 million as their living expenditures. It is available for them to transmit cultural heritages.

Investigator: Therefore, as I say, they do something slightly like the things done by the mainland China.

OA02: It is something slightly like that. However, regarding official registrations, they are acting toward this trend and they also do their best to follow such a normal learning schedule. The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act has been established in recent years. In view of this aspect, it belongs to a new affair and we are all learning from such deeds.

Investigator: Can you submit your recommendations to superior units when you face difficulties in dealing with your official affairs? Or any corrections and commands are

given after the central competent authority find problems by their own?

OA02: If we face some problems when we host workshops, some problems will be submitted to the central competent authority. They will also revise legislation whenever available.

Investigator: Do you mean the central competent authority is some units like the CCA?

OA02: Yes! CCA!

Investigator: About generating application forms, which unit is mainly in charge of such an affair?

OA02: Regarding traditional arts, there is a preparatory office of cultural heritages subordinate to the CCA in Taichung City. We mostly contact this unit. In Yilan, there is a traditional art centre with their tasks mainly focusing on promotion.

Investigator: Therefore, which part do we belong to?

OA02: The part of preserving records.

Investigator: Are there any relevant governmental courses or workshops dedicated to the civil public?

OA02: According to my past experience, few regional competent authority host such activities. They are most hosted by central competent authority.

Investigator: To my knowledge, the CCA also host some workshops for intangible cultural heritages and almost every occasion is fully occupied. Have you ever heard or joined them before?

OA02: Yes! I heard so much. However, it is quite weird because governmental staffs in charge of relevant affairs frequently change. It seems the governmental department in charge is quite a large unit.

Investigator: Why manpower turnover rates are so quick for competent authority?

OA02: It is possible the governmental staffs in charge have been transferred to other department. For example, governmental staffs in charge have been transferred to other governmental departments. Another new comer starts to know the routines from the beginning again and it is slightly difficult to make official affairs smoothly continued. Actually, you have to do something from the beginning again.

Investigator: Can you share something from joining the workshops? Are these things helpful for your position in promotion affairs?

OA02: I feel every time I attend the occasion I become more-learned about some problems. There are numerous governmental staffs in charge knowing something about the problems, but their superiors and even panel members have no clear ideas. Although panel members are experts and scholars, they have not thoroughly engaged in relevant codes and laws. Such a situation seems they have vague ideas only. Therefore, we are conducting official registrations for intangible cultural heritages, there are probably

some problems existing. For example, the conclusions of panel members probably have gaps between the recognitions of the central competent authority. Therefore, when governmental courses are available, we hope unit directors and panel members should attend the occasions aside from governmental staffs in charge. Recently, I have heard some commissioned firms also hope to attend such courses. Therefore, the subjects for the CCA's cultural promotion come from a wider range and every one hopes to join relevant promotion occasions.

Investigator: This is only an initial development phase. There are numerous ideas and recognitions of no concrete and insightful point.

OA02: Yes! It probably causes recognition gaps.

Investigator: Governments have also advocated cultural creativity industries. To my knowledge, I find there are numerous people confusing intangible cultural heritages and cultural creativity industries together. Actually, both are remarkably different.

OA02: Actually, there is also a problem with loose horizontal linkages among competent authority. They rarely contact other units and know little about the affairs of other units.

Investigator: Sometimes, cultural development is required for mutual aids from education units. However, as you say, their effort is fragmented separately.

OA02: How, it doesn't matter and it is something concerned with organization structures and systems. Because of tree structures, it causes losing both horizontal and vertical linkages among them.

Investigator: I know it is something ultimately concerned with deficient cultural budgets. However, are video records helpful to continue intangible cultural heritages after official registrations are made for intangible cultural heritages?

OA02: We certainly hope in such a promoting way, it is also available to be broadcasted on charity cable TVs aside from teaching materials at schools. If these are not meant for profiting business, through the media, it can allow more people to watch these art performances.

Investigator: The media really exerts its highly profound influence.

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: Whenever audiences receive some messages every day, they are actually internalised.

OA02: Whenever there is deficient propaganda effort for some performances, once the messages are broadcasted, it is available to notify the general public. Therefore, within our capabilities, we host one or two small propaganda occasions every year for promotion.

Investigator: However, regarding the messages, they can be always known by someone really

taking huge interest and they can never be known by someone without interest.

OA02: What we can do is only conducted through media propaganda because you never know where those audiences with huge interest are.

Investigator: Yeah!

OA02: The major subjects for propaganda are competent authority, schools and some other media propaganda events as you say. Just as you say, people often attending such art performances are those with huge interest in this field. We suppose they show positive acceptance with continual participation available. They are really those know much about arts. Some ordinary audiences just have rough ideas and lukewarm participation merely.

Investigator: If the propaganda is through mass transportation and in some popular sightseeing spots, do you think the propaganda cost is high?

OA02: It is a part belonging to marketing. Advertising probably occupies the highest expenditure proportions. It is possible the overall cost for art performance occasions is low, but marketing occupies very high cost proportions.

Investigator: Is propaganda cost is very high even if you use marquee advertising?

OA02: It depends on the units we cooperate together? However, there will be some limitations definitely.

Investigator: What about the limitations?

OA02: Taking the Ministry of Communications for example, their marquees are probably only available for traffic messages yet allowable for cultural messages.

Investigator: Therefore, it depends on the units we cooperate together.

OA02: Yes! There will be something about organization subordination.

Investigator: How about the propaganda effort for promoting cultural policies made by the CCA and regional competent authority? Is there any cultural education available for the general citizens?

OA02: Seriously speaking, we do less in this part. However, if there are relevant activities available, we post messages on the website of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs. Aside from the activities hosted by ourselves, if there are some cultural activities hosted by regional or central competent authority available for the general citizens, we will post on an island-wide network available for the general public. Therefore, audiences should make most of official web resources. There are numerous messages we originally arrange for media propaganda. However, not every official message issued by us will be posted by the media.

Investigator: I understand. What cultural art education should be done for our citizens?

OA02: I feel I cannot answer this question because it is very difficult because this question involved with some governmental policies. If possible, it is available for

inter-department cooperation among public sectors through the Education Bureau. However, for the general public, we cannot offer a large deal of propaganda to the general public except their personal participation.

Investigator: Regarding your own interpretations, what about ‘localistion’? For example, puppetry and Taiwanese Opera do not originate from Kaohsiung. However, why does the overall Kaohsiung area form a very strong power and become regional localization features? Why do we have such a change?

OA02: Actually, I personally feel it means the effort made by us. In puppetry, aside from the effort of local teams, there also governmental sponsorship projects available. For example, the Kaohsiung History Museum also focuses on promoting effort on this part. Therefore, puppetry forms a huge cultural power on Kaohsiung. There are also some excellent Taiwanese Opera troupes on Kaohsiung and they are highly willing to spend their own effort on this. Therefore, some local operas actually originate from Mainland China. However, these operas have developed on Kaohsiung for a long time. If cultural department in a certain place has lasted for long enough and spent more effort. It is available for everybody to slowly know these operas and finally become well-known traditional operas.

Investigator: Regarding the registrations of intangible cultural heritages with an example of Taiwanese Opera, aside from Ms Chiung-Chi Liao, there is no one officially registered.

OA02: It is because current cultural policies focus on quality not quantity. Therefore, there are 5 artists officially registered at most for every category. In view of a regional scale, there is no limitation. However, we don’t have too many artists officially registered due to considerate sponsorship budgets.

Investigator: Budget issues, right?

OA02: Yes! Both central and regional competent authorities focus on budget issue. Every department takes the responsibilities to raise their own sponsored artists.

Investigator: At present, the official registration is available for the wood carving category on Kaohsiung, right?

OA02: It means the parts of wood carving and traditional colour painting and we have totally 6 artists officially registered.

Investigator: Why there are only colour painting and word carving available for official registrations? How about others?

OA02: It is because we firstly start surveying from the aspects of traditional crafts.

Investigator: You mean it is an issue implemented with different phases, right?

OA02: Yes! It is an issue concerned with different phases. In 2006, we firstly conducted general surveys on traditional crafts. In 2008, we conducted official registrations



formally with 6 artists enlisted. In 2009, we conducted general surveys on performance arts. In 2010, we started on-site interviews and then conducted sequent official registrations. The tasks are actually implemented with different phases. It does not mean we never take care of them.

Investigator: I understand. Regarding the process and experience for official registrations of traditional crafts, do you have any information to share?

OA02: Well! Because we have posted the info relevant to general surveys and official registrations on the E-newspaper of the Kaohsiung City Hall, it is available for all citizens to look up the information about officially registered arts.

Investigator: If focusing on a single artist, how much is the expenditure to record his lifelong stories or craft achievements about?

OA02: It based on budgets allocated by the central competent authority.

Investigator: For the Kaohsiung City Hall, how many percents of total budgets are allocated for cultural affairs from central competent authority?

OA02: I have no idea about this. Aside from the part of traditional crafts, there are also tangible heritages. Because our affairs are separated into various departments, we have no clear idea about budget allocation and amount. We only know our part in charge.

Investigator: Can you unravel the budget amount?

OA02: The budget amount is about NTD 500,000 every year.

Investigator: Is this amount for a whole year? It is quite meagre.

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: The amount seems only affordable to a performance occasion only, right?

OA02: Aside from a promotion activity every year, we also hope to conduct general surveys and records. As you know, the budget amount is quite meagre.

Investigator: Do your regional competent authority manage any local cultural revenues?

OA02: Actually, there is no cultural revenue available. Like some international exhibitions, the revenues can be reachable through admission tickets. Instead, for traditional arts and cultural heritages, cultural revenues are difficultly reached through admission tickets.

Investigator: The revenues are more available for modern arts, right?

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: If there are some performances conducted in the cultural centre, there will be some hosting and co-hosting firms. How about their revenue shares?

OA02: The performance teams firstly seek sponsors and they also apply for governmental subsidy. The sponsorship of both sides is available.

Investigator: Sorry. What I want to know is there any additional cultural income for the city hall when performances are conducted in the cultural centre?

OA02: No!

Investigator: You are only in charge of rental space, right?

OA02: Yes! We rent performance space only and receive some basic expenditure for water and electricity supply.

Investigator: Therefore, public sectors always spend money and effort for cultural promotion but no income accessible, right?

OA02: We probably have some income; however, competent authority should never receive too much income.

Investigator: Yes!

OA02: A saying of depriving interest from citizens should be avoided and the line is very difficult to be delineated.

Investigator: Taking sponsored cultural teams for example, how about the yearly budget amount for an island-wide scale or a regional scale? Are these budgets further subdivided?

OA02: The budget amount to regional competent authority given by central competent authority is NTD 1 million. However, regional competent authorities also allocate their own budgets to sponsor some cultural teams. The total sum of the budgets from both central and regional competent authority can make more budgets totally. Therefore, cultural teams can be sponsored with more subsidy amount or a larger number of cultural teams can be governmentally sponsored.

Investigator: Probably, some teams have the chances for foreign performances, but they have no enough budgets with the travelling fees amounting to hundreds of thousand NTDs at least. However, public sectors can offer the subsidy amounting to NTD 30 or 50 thousand only. They are placed in a dilemma, right?

OA02: Actually, things going on not as we suppose. When we conduct reviews, if they are planning for foreign cultural exchanges, we will give them more subsidy amount. Panel members will allow the budget amount based on actual project contents.

Investigator: Based on actual demands, right?

OA02: Yes! The budget amount for local performances will be definitely from that allocated for island-wide touring performances. We will do whatever we can to take considerate care of these cultural teams.

Investigator: What about the task differences between the Arts Administration Division and the Cultural Heritage Division?

OA02: This part can be started from the basic structures of the Culture Office at the Tainan County Hall.

Investigator: Yes!

OA02: In the past, it was a second-rank governmental agency. Later, it becomes a unit internal

to the Tainan County Hall. At present, there are 6 divisions, Arts Administration Division, Cultural Heritage Division, Culture Construction Division, Library Information Division, Museum Division and Culture Exhibition Division. The Arts Administration Division is mainly in charge of administrating visual arts, performance arts and hosting some large art and culture activities. The Cultural Heritage Division mainly handles the preservation of intangible cultural heritages and the designation for historical relics and architectures.

Investigator: Well!

OA02: The Culture Construction Division is in charge of hardware maintenance and repairing for historical or cultural facilities. The Library Information is in charge of public libraries within the whole county. The Culture Exhibition and performance Division is in charge of the overall Tainan County Cultural Centre.

Investigator: Does the administration also include art and culture performances?

OA02: Yes! Therefore, there some overlapped tasks between the Culture Exhibition and Performance Division and the Arts Administration Division. The Culture Exhibition and Performance Division focus its effort on the management of the performance hall in the culture centre. The Arts Administration Division focuses effort on the affairs relevant to performance arts and visual arts within the overall county. The Museum Division is used to be called the Culture Park Management Division.

Investigator: The Culture Park Management Division?

OA02: Yes! It was called the Culture Development Division earlier. Basically, they are in charge of community construction and domestic culture exhibition halls.

Investigator: Do they proactively submit applications for domestic art teams?

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: To my knowledge, there are some arts or traditional art performance teams face difficulties in writing governmental documents.

OA02: Yes!

Investigator: I found a situation from personal interviews. It seems people are often confused with intangible cultural heritages and culture creativity industries. How do you divide these two fields when you are reviewing?

OA02: Firstly, the reviews on these cultural teams should be evaluated with different levels. If it is meant for official registrations, our official registration processes are more troublesome than other local competent authority. There are numerous competent authorities on other cities and counties with convenient written applications. Aside from reviews on written applications, we also watch their trial performances and watch their fire facilities.

Investigator: Oh?

OA02: It is an issue about safety. Regarding trial performances, we used to discuss whether it is required to cancel such an appraisal procedure. It is because official registrations for these are just like business licensing applications. It is not concerned with subjective opinions to determine trial performances are excel or inferior. Probably, some excellent performances admired by public sectors cannot be popular to the general public. The market mechanisms still must be taken into consideration.

Investigator: Yes!

OA02: Therefore, we suppose licensing is unnecessary to watch trial performances. It should be alright just to inspect their basic organization structures and equipment. At present, we have more issues about taxation because there is no tax-exempted favour for art performance teams except Taipei City. It belongs to another part about governmental subsidy applications. It is quite different from business licensing.

Investigator: Do you mean some sponsorship projects?

OA02: Yes! In our county, Hand Puppetry troupes occupy the largest proportion. However, it is difficult for them to do written paperwork and they are just proficient in practical performances only. However, whatever subsidy from both central and regional competent authority should be naturally required for some paperwork. Sometimes, we invite these cultural teams and instruct them how to prepare for written paperwork. Aside from necessary application procedures, when we conduct the preservation for cultural heritages, there is something like pictures and papers with a long unknowable history. Such a written paperwork can allow them with the chances to compile their own history.

Investigator: How about your ways to determine whatever cultural teams competent for governmental sponsorship or preservation of intangible cultural heritages?

OA02: For intangible cultural heritages, we invite experts and scholars to firstly review written documents and then they interview the cultural teams on the spot. As aforesaid culture creativity industries, actually we have no very concrete policies. Although culture creativity industries have been widely discussed for past few years, we still have no relevant policies regulated. Actually, we never really understand the contexts of culture creativity industries in Taiwan.

OA02: In the past, the affairs conducted by the Ministry of Economic have been taken over by the CCA. The CCA always view culture as arts. However, arts mean a part of culture only. However, everybody wrongly view culture as the total parts of arts.

OA02: Yes! Culture creativity industries are sheer different and they cannot be viewed as arts or fine painting arts only.

Investigator: Are they concerned with economic?

OA02: Yes! Although the central competent authority spares no effort to advocate, regional

competent authorities know little about their own jobs with some problems happening to affair execution frequently.

Investigator: No clear definition, right?

OA02: Yes! We, public sectors, are limited by organizational structures inclusive of staffs with different professional backgrounds and operations under separate recognition systems quite different from those of cultural creativity industries. Moreover, everything should be done by observing the Procurement Laws. Sometimes, such doing is never available for developing cultural creativity industries. The situation of nothing happening is just a superficial phenomenon. Actually, whatever products designed or developed a commissioned team or school finally comes to a silent ending. Once products are developed, it is naturally required for mass production to put into markets. Assume some excellent products are developed, how to transmit to civil firms is also a headache issue about competent authority profiting the firms. If so, no solution is available for cultural creativity industries. I feel the issues of cultural creativity industries are widely discussed when everybody still has no clear idea. Our governments just promote without clear ideas in mind. What we have done is always the brainstorm of some experts and scholars, but it finally comes a silent ending.

Investigator: No more continual effort, right?

OA02: No! We are forced to do nothing with oral discussing merely. I do understand discussing is quite important and it means something very flexible. However, when it comes to our education, it seems we only have art education but no aesthetics education. Cultural creativity means design and it is closely correlated to aesthetics not just fine arts only.

Investigator: It is not concerned with skills only.

OA02: Yes! However, current school education is limited within education of fine arts merely. Fine arts are sheer different from aesthetics. Therefore, if there are changes happening to rudimentary ideas, with the best effort of our competent authority with considerable amount spent, our governments never have clear ideas for what to do. Everything seems to be in vain. However, it doesn't mean we should stop because of such a situation. We also have to explore in the darkness. Yes! Public sectors often view intangible cultural heritages as a theme and convert them into commodities. They just make use of image transformation with numerous products created or they are just story-telling activities merely. Actually, the effort is limited and highly superficial.

Investigator: Do they convert tangible or intangible cultural heritages into cultural heritages in such a packing way?

OA02: Yes! It means cultural creativity is merely something about some important totems printed on mugs or artful figures displayed on T-shirts merely.